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TRAVELLING IN SPANISH AMERICA.

JOURNAL

OF A

RESIDENCE IN CHILE,

DURING THE YEAR 1822.

AND A

VOYAGE FROM CHILE TO BRAZIL IN 1823.

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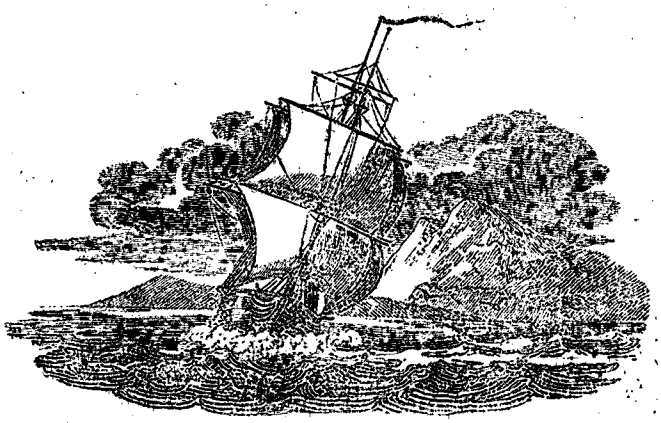
By MARIA GRAHAM.

HAPLY THE SEAS AND COUNTRIES DIFFERENT
WITH VARIABLE OBJECTS, SHALL DISPEL
THIS SOMETHING SETTLED MATTER IN HIS HEART.



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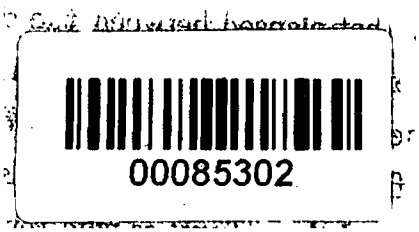

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PREFACE.

THE Journal of a residence in Chile should naturally have been placed between the two visits to Brazil, which are the subject of the writer's former volume. The reasons for dividing the Journals have been given in the preface to that of the residence in Brazil.

The Introduction to the present volume is, perhaps, its most important part. Of the first six years of the revolution in Chile, no account is to be procured, either from the offices of the secretaries of state, or among the papers of the actors in the scene. During the few wretched days that elapsed between the defeat of the Patriots at Rancagua and their crossing the Andes, the whole of the public papers and documents that could be collected were burnt, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who might have persecuted those families who remained in their country, and whose names might have been found among those of the Patriots. Hence until 1817, no records are to be traced even in the hands of government; and until the middle of 1818 nothing whatever was printed in Chile; so that a few years hence all remembrance of the early period of the revolution in that country may be lost.

It was the writer's good fortune while in Chile, to become acquainted with several persons, who, having participated either as

actors or spectators in the great event, were kind enough to allow her to write down, from their verbal account, the main particulars which she has detailed. What was related by those still Royalists, agreed in all facts with what was told by the patriots, and all with the clear and spirited narratives of the Supreme Director, O'Higgins; whose liberality and politeness on this, as on every other point, towards the writer, deserve her warmest acknowledgements. From 1818 to 1821 ample accounts were published in the gazettes of every public occurrence, and every document was during that period laid before the people. But sometime in the year 1821, it became evident that the political speculations of the Protector of Peru, and the commercial schemes of the ministers in Chile, were of a nature not to be unveiled, and the public papers are accordingly very defective from that time. The writer cannot flatter herself that she has been able to supply the deficiencies entirely; but she trusts that the leading marks she has been able to set up will be found sufficient to induce others, more capable of the task, to fill up the outline which she has but sketched.

As the struggle in Spanish America was purely that of the colonies with the mother country, the writer had of course nothing to do with the mention of any transactions between the neutral trading nations, whose vessels, either of war or of commerce, might be in the seas of Chile, unless where a direct interference, as in the case of Captain Hillier's guarantee of the treaty in the south of Chile, renders it absolutely necessary.

The Postscript to the Journal contains papers from which the present political state of Chile may be understood. There is so much of good in that country, so much in the character of the people and the excellence of the soil and climate, that there can be no

doubt of the ultimate success of their endeavours after a free and flourishing state: but there are no ordinary difficulties to get over, no common wants to be supplied; and if the following pages shall in the slightest degree contribute directly or indirectly to supply those wants, or to smooth those difficulties, by calling attention to that country either as one particularly fitted for commercial intercourse, or as one whose natural resources and powers have yet to be cultivated, the writer will feel the truest satisfaction.

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INTRODUCTION.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CHILE.

The discovery of Chile by the Spaniards, and the accounts of their first settlements there, form one of the most romantic chapters in the history of the European conquest of South America. After the death of the Inca Atahualpa in 1535, Pizarro, jealous of the influence and ambition of his companion Almagro, represented the conquest of Chile as an object worthy of his talents, and engaged him in it notwithstanding his advanced age, which was then upwards of seventy years.

The desert of Atacama separates Peru from Chile, and of the two practicable roads connecting those provinces, Almagro's eager impatience chose the shortest, though the most difficult, by the mountains, instead of that by the sea-coast. The sufferings and loss of Almagro's army, from cold and famine, during their march, appear incredible; and, had not a few soldiers, better mounted than the rest, pushed on to the valley of Copiapo, and obtained supplies from the hospitable natives, which they sent back to meet their suffering companions, in all probability the greater number must have perished.

The Spaniards were kindly treated, and at first received by the Chilenos with a veneration bordering on idolatry: but the thirst of gold and silver, which had led them to seek the country through burning deserts and over snowy mountains, soon led to disputes between the inhabitants and the soldiers, which Almagro revenged on the former severely, and thus laid the foundation for that opposition

on the part of the natives which still lays waste some of the best provinces of the state. On reaching the southern side of the Cachapoal the Spanish army met several of the Indian tribes, and particularly the Promaucians, ready to oppose their further progress; and though Almagro was on the whole victorious, he considered the worth of the conquest as insufficient to reward the toils of the conquerors, and in the year 1538 returned with his army to Peru, where, after having possessed Cuzco for a short time, he was put to death by order of Francisco Pizarro, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Pedro de Valdivia was the next Spanish leader deputed by Pizarro to conduct an army into Chile: he accordingly entered it in 1540 with 200 Spaniards and a large body of Peruvians, taking the same road as Almagro; but as it was the summer time, the soldiers had nothing to fear from the cold, which had proved so fatal to Almagro. The reception of Valdivia was very different from that given to his predecessor. The Chilenos had learned to hate as well as to fear the invaders. Every step was won by force of arms; and the settlements or colonies established by Valdivia were repeatedly destroyed. Even Santiago, which he founded in 1541, did not find sufficient defence in its citadel of Santa Lucia, but was burnt by the people of the valley of Mapocho while Valdivia was advancing to the banks of the Cachapoal to repel the Promaucians. On his return from that expedition, he sent Alonzo Monroy and Pedro Miranda, with six companions, towards the frontiers of Peru in order to obtain succours; and that they might the more readily entice the European soldiers to join them, their bits and stirrups and spurs were made of gold. This little company was however attacked by the people of Copiapo, and Monroy and Miranda only escaped. They were carried to the ulman or governor of the valley, who had condemned them to death; but the intercession of his wife saved them; a benefit which they repaid with the basest ingratitude. She requested them to teach her son to ride, several of the Spanish horses having been taken and brought to her. They made use of

the opportunity to escape, but first needlessly stabbed her son, and then fled to Cuzco.

That city was then governed by Castro, the successor of Pizarro, who granted the assistance desired by Valdivia; and Monroy led a small body of recruits by land to Copiapo, while a considerable force was conveyed by sea, under Juan Baptista Pastene, a noble Genoese. Meantime Valdivia had obtained possession of the rich gold mines of the valley of Quillota; and, sensible that nothing effectual could be done without a communication by sea with Peru, had begun to build a vessel at the mouth of the river of Aconcagua, which rises near the Cumbre pass of the Andes, traverses the whole valley of Quillota, and falls into the dangerous bay of Concon, between the harbours of Valparaiso and Quintero, neither of which receive any considerable rivers.

On receiving the reinforcement from Castro, Valdivia immediately ordered Pastene to explore the coast of Chile, as far as the straits of Magellan; and then despatched him to Peru for fresh succours, as the natives became daily more enterprising, and had recently put to death the whole body of soldiers stationed at the gold mines near Quillota, burned the vessel which was just finished, and destroyed the store-houses at the mouth of the river. On receiving news of this disaster, Valdivia marched from Santiago, revenged the death of his people by exercising as much cruelty as possible towards the unhappy Quillotanes, and built a fort for the protection of the miners. Thence he advanced to meet his new reinforcements under Villagran and Escobar, who brought him 300 men from Peru; and desiring to have an establishment in the northern part of Chile, he pitched upon the beautiful plain at the mouth of the Coquimbo, where he established the colony of La Serena, commonly called Coquimbo, in 1543.

The year following was marked by gaining over the Promaucian Indians to the Spanish cause, to which they have ever since faithfully adhered, impelled probably by their jealousy of their immediate neighbours the Araucanians. Valdivia then pursued his conquests

to the southward; but after crossing the Maule was defeated at Itata, and obliged to go in person to Peru to obtain reinforcements. During his absence, the people of Copiapo, who had not forgotten the treacherous murder of their young chief by Monroy and Miranda, fell upon a detachment of forty Spaniards, and put them to death; and those of Coquimbo massacred all the inhabitants of the new colony, and levelled its walls to the ground. Francis Aquirre was immediately sent thither, and rebuilt the town in a more convenient situation in 1549; and Valdivia having returned with a considerable number of new adventurers, the northern part of Chile was, after nine years of incessant and excessive fatigue on the part of the general, reduced to tranquillity, and the lands parcelled out amongst his oldest followers, according to the feudal customs then prevailing in Europe.

The next year, 1550, Valdivia proceeded as far south as the Biobio, near whose mouth, in the beautiful bay of Penco, he founded the city of Conception, in one of the richest and most fertile provinces of Chile. But his progress was stopped here by the Cacique or Toqui Aillavilla, the chief of the Araucanians, who crossed the Biobio in order to succour the people of Penco, and to resist to the death these invaders of their territory.

Araucana is a rich and fertile province, extending from the Biobio to the Callacalla, generally very woody, full of hills, and well watered. The inhabitants are hardy, brave, and passionately fond of liberty: they have never yet been subdued, having equally resisted the armies of the Incas, and those of the Spaniards. It has been their fortune to have a poet in the person of Ercilla, among their enemies, who has done justice to their valour, and preserved the memory of their very singular customs and polity, of which he was an eye-witness, having taken a distinguished part in most of the battles he describes.

Between the first foundation of Conception, 1550, and its destruction in 1554, the activity of Valdivia had founded Imperial on the river, which forms a port at the very walls of the city, which, during

the short period of its existence, was the richest city in Chile; Villarica, on the banks of the lake Lauquen; Valdivia on the Callacalla which commands the most beautiful and commodious harbour of the Pacific: Angol, or the City of the Frontiers; and had built the fortresses of Puren, Tucapel, and Arauco, the two latter of which were quickly destroyed by the Cacique Caupolican, who by the assistance of Lautaro, a young hero of his nation, overcame the Spaniards in a great battle, in which Valdivia was taken and put to death.

Lautaro had been taken prisoner by Valdivia, who educated him, and made him his page. He seemed attached to his conqueror, and had never evinced a desire to join his countrymen, till, seeing them routed in battle, and flying before the Spanish artillery, he was seized with shame, stripped off his European garments, ran towards his countrymen, and calling on them in the name of their country to follow him, led them on to that victory which was confirmed by the death of Valdivia. From that day he became their principal leader. Villagran, who succeeded to Valdivia, immediately evacuated Conception, which was burned to the ground by Lautaro; but the small-pox having appeared among the Araucanians, the Spaniards took advantage of the distress occasioned by that dreadful malady, and rebuilt Conception, 1555. Lautaro, however, immediately attacked the new colonists, once more destroyed their city, and marched directly towards Santiago. On the road, however, he was met by Villagran, whom a spy had conducted by a secret path to the sea shore, where the Araucanians had halted in a pass between a high hill and the ocean. He came upon them at day-light, and just as Lautaro, having watched during the night, had retired to rest. Lautaro, who ran to the front of his army as soon as he heard the approach of the enemy, received an arrow through his heart ere he could give directions for the fight; but his people perished to a man; and their enemies record their unshaken valour, and the virtues of the young hero, who, dying in his nineteenth year, has left a name pre-eminent in the history of patriotism.

After the death of Lautaro, Conception was rebuilt, Cañete

founded, and the Archipelago of Chiloe discovered by the Spaniards. Ercilla accompanied the discoverers, and inscribed some verses on a tree, recording his name and the date of the discovery, January 31st, 1558; and on the return from Chiloe, the city of Osorno was built.

At this period the Araucana of Ercilla closes; the poem having extended to the events of nine years, the time of the poet's service in the South American army. He then returned to Spain, and was employed in the European wars of Philip II. The continuation of the poem by Osorio is far from possessing equal merit with that of Ercilla: it extends no farther than the death of the second cacique (called Caupolican), the temporary subjugation of Araucana, and the disappearance of its chiefs.

But while the Spanish governors were engaged in invading Tucuman, and building the towns of Mendoza and San Juan, beyond the Andes, the Araucanians were silently preparing for new wars, and, ere they were expected, sallied from their woods and destroyed the flourishing town of Cañete, which was however rebuilt (1665) by the younger Villagran, who had succeeded his father in the government. The next year Ruiz Gamboa was sent to take possession of Chiloe, and founded the city of Castro and the port of Chacao.

Meantime, the long continuance of the war in so important a province as Chile, and the consideration of the great inconvenience of applying to Peru in all cases of civil and criminal jurisdiction, induced Philip II. to establish a court of audience at Conception; but the court, arrogating to itself military as well as civil authority, was soon discovered to be worse than useless, and was therefore suppressed in 1575. There had been a suspension of hostilities between the Spaniards and Chilenos for nearly four years, owing, in great measure, to the effects of an earthquake, which had laid waste a great part of the country; but the Araucanians had employed the interval in diligently seeking allies among the neighbouring Indians, and had engaged the Pehuenches, a mountain nation, and the Chequillans, the most savage of the Indians, to assist them in resisting the Spaniards; and he same harassing and continued warfare took

place which had marked the government of each successive captain-general from the time of Valdivia.

Notwithstanding these continued disturbances in the south, the quantity of the precious metals derived from Chile, the fertility of the country, and the mildness of the climate, began to attract the attention of other nations. The English, under Sir Thomas Cavendish, who arrived in 1586, with three ships, attempted to form a settlement in the bay of Quintero, but were immediately attacked and repulsed by the Spaniards, who suffered no nation to interfere in their new settlements. A second expedition under Sir John Narborough, in the reign of Charles II., was still more unfortunate, the whole fleet being lost in the straits of Magellan.

The Dutch also, with five ships, attempted in 1600 to make a settlement in the Island of Chiloe, and began by plundering the settlement and massacring the settlers; but the crew of their commodore having landed at Talca, the Indians fell upon and destroyed them, and the enterprise was therefore abandoned. Meantime the Araucanians, under Paillamachu, had leagued themselves with all the Indian tribes, as far as the Archipelago of Chiloe. Every Spaniard that was found outside of the fortresses was slain, and the cities of Osorno, Valdivia, Villarica, Imperial, Cañete, Angol, Coya, and the smaller fortresses, were invested at once. Conception and Chillan were burned, and in little more than three years all the settlements of Valdivia and his successors between the Biobio and Chiloe were destroyed: the inhabitants, after suffering the extremes of famine, were made prisoners, and the unmarried of both sexes given to people of the country, but the married allowed to retain their wives and families. The descendants of these prisoners are among the most inveterate enemies of the Spaniards, but the Indians have improved in the arts of civil life by their means. The fortunate cacique died in 1603, the year after the taking of Osorno, the last place that he reduced.

To prevent a recurrence of these disasters, a body of 2,000 regular troops was established on the frontier in 1608, which has at least

served the purpose of preventing the Indians from any serious invasion of the northern districts; but their predatory inroads have never been wholly repressed, and Araucana continued free.

In 1609, the court of audience, which had been suppressed at Conception, was re-established at Santiago, a city far enough from the Indian frontier not to dread the incursions of the natives, but too distant from the sea, being ninety miles from Valparaiso, its nearest port. This situation, however, had at that period its convenience, as it was out of the reach of the French, Dutch, and English adventurers, who then disturbed the tranquillity and endangered the possessions of the Spanish settlements on the shores of the Pacific.

In 1638, the Dutch made an attempt to form an alliance with the Araucanians, and thus obtain possession of Chile; but that nation refused all intercourse with Europeans, and destroyed the parties the Dutch had landed both in the islands of Mocha and Talca. Not disheartened, however, that enterprising people returned in 1643 with a numerous fleet, troops, and artillery, took possession of the deserted Valdivia, and began to build three strong forts at the entrance of the harbour. But the Indians not only refused to assist them in arms, but denied them provisions; and they were compelled to abandon the place three months after their landing. The Spaniards availed themselves of the labour of the Dutch; finished their forts, and strengthened the island of Mancura. So that the settlement remained undisturbed from without till the late revolution.

While the provinces of southern Chile were thus desolated and depopulated by a continual warfare, the same causes that threw back the other Spanish provinces operated also upon this small state. The unnatural aggrandisement of Spain during the reign of Charles V. involved it in all the wars of the continent of Europe; and as it had lost the advantages it had derived from the arts and agriculture of the Moors, which were never replaced by any corresponding industry, the sole resources whence the long and expensive contests of that prince could be supplied, lay in the quantity of the precious metals im-

ported from the new world. Hence the short-sighted policy of repressing all industry in the colonies, that was not directly applied to the procuring gold and silver, the jealous exclusion of commerce, and the prohibitions of manufactures, excepting the very coarsest for home consumption. The misfortunes which attended the successors of Charles in some measure fell also on their foreign possessions; and as the demand for treasure became more urgent, the circumstances of South America became such as to render the supply more difficult. The wars and the cruelties of the Spaniards had destroyed so many of the Indians, that there were scarcely any left to labour in the mines; and though a bargain was made with the Dutch to supply African negroes for the purpose, the number of these, in Chile at least, was never great. The first viceroys and governors had been men of enterprise and talents; and although the character of Valdivia is not free from the imputation of cruelty, yet the building of towns, establishing something like lawful tribunals, and a disposition to win over, if possible, the natives, which form the principal object both of his government and that of some of his immediate successors, were highly beneficial. But before the accession of Philip V. the wants of a needy court had set up the high offices of the Indies to sale. The viceroys no longer sought to distinguish themselves by arms or policy; and they jealously guarded commerce from the intrusion of strangers only that they themselves might become the sole monopolists. The instructions sent by the court of Versailles to Marsin, the ambassador at Madrid, in 1701, contain the following observations:—"The rights of the crown of the Western "Indies have been sacrificed to the avarice of viceroys, governors, and "inferior officers." And again,—"The different councils of Madrid "are full of abuses, and that of the Indies particularly so. In it, so far "from punishing malversations, the guilty are supported in propor- "tion to their bribes. The excesses of the viceroys and other officers "remain unpunished. This impunity, and the immense property "which they bring back, encourage their successors to follow the same "example. On the contrary, if any one, from a principle of honour,

" pursues a different course, his disinterestedness is punished by a " shameful poverty. If he is a subaltern, the reproach which his " conduct draws on his superiors, or the attention he bestows to " throw light on theirs, exposes him to hatred. He soon feels the " effects, in the loss of his employments; for *truth never reaches the* " *king of Spain;* distance gives facilities for disguising it, and " timely presents can always obscure it."

Meanwhile, the ambitious and enterprising court of Louis XIV. had turned its views to the advantages to be derived from a colony on the western coast of South America, or, at least, an exclusive right of commerce. Accordingly, having obtained the privilege of supplying Peru and Mexico with slaves, instead of the Dutch, the French ships began to trade thither; and, as opportunity occurred, men of science in different branches were sent to observe and report on the state of the country. Father Feuillé, to whom we are indebted for the best botanical account of Chile, where he resided for three years, was one of these; and Frezier, whose " Voyage to the South Sea" can never be sufficiently commended for its accuracy, was another. But the consequences of this French commerce, as exclusive as that of the Spaniards themselves, were far from beneficial to Spain or the colonies. The French traders were formed into two companies, which interfered with the rights of the Spanish merchants, and excluded all others; and in 1709 we find the following remarkable passage in the memorial on the state of Spain, transmitted by the French minister, Amelot, from Madrid: — " The riches of Peru " and Mexico, those inexhaustible sources of wealth, are almost lost " to Spain. Not only are complaints made against the French mer- " chants for ruining the trade of Cadiz and Seville, in spite of the " regulations of the French court against those who infringe the " established rules; but the enormous abuses of the administration " of the viceroys continue in full force. Avarice and pillage are un- " punished; fortresses and garrisons are neglected; all things seem " to portend a fatal revolution." At this period the viceroys were recalled; and an attempt was made to restrain the enormous profits

arising from their offices. Chile was then under the viceroyalty of Peru, and the captains-general often, if not always, nominated by the viceroys; so that the same system of extortion went on, in order to furnish means for the same system of bribery, in a subordinate degree, at the vice-court of Lima, as pervaded the council of the Indies at Madrid.

The feeble monarchs of the house of Bourbon in Spain, were too much harassed by their continual domestic struggles with their people, who never heartily loved or respected the French dynasty, and by the share they took in all European wars, and in that between England and her North American colonies, to have either leisure or power to ameliorate the condition of the western kingdoms. Indeed after the provincial edicts of 1718, drawn up with ability, and well adapted to the circumstances of the country, it does not appear that any considerable effort was made in Europe in favour of the colonists. Some of the captains-general, and viceroys, it is true, earned the name of fathers of the people over whom they presided; and Chile, in particular, has reason to be grateful to Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, an Irish soldier, who, having served in the Spanish armies, afterwards commanded the troops on the frontier of Chile, and having repulsed the Indians, who had once more begun to threaten the tranquillity of that state, he put many of the frontier towns and forts in a state of proper defence, discovered the ruins of Osorno, which he rebuilt, and made an excellent road from Valdivia to that city, thereby facilitating the intercourse with Chiloe. These services were rewarded with the title of Marquis of Osorno, and the office of captain-general of Chile. He continued his beneficent and splendid works on his removal to the capital. He built bridges, he formed the present road by the Cumbre pass across the Andes from Santiago to Mendoza, on which he caused rest-houses to be built for the accommodation of travellers, and he caused the broad carriage-road from Valparaiso to the capital to be constructed in such a manner, that, though it has not since been repaired, it has resisted the rains and earthquakes so often destructive in Chile.

On his removal to Lima, as viceroy of Peru, the same disinterestedness as to private fortune, the same regard to public utility, continued to distinguish his character. To him the Limanians are indebted for the fine road between their city and the port of Callao, and for other works of usefulness and ornament. His justice and beneficence, during his administration, are still remembered with gratitude, both in Chile and Peru; and his death, in 1799 or 1800, when he left his family far from rich, was most sincerely regretted.

This event brings us within a very few years of the period when the South American colonies of Spain began to claim, first, equal privileges with the mother country; and, finally, that independence as a *right*, of which they prepared to assert their possession as a *fact*, which the fleets and armies of Old Spain were in no condition to controvert. The emancipation of North America had produced an effect, at first unnoticed, but which broke out from time to time in impatient and impotent struggles, both in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. As the courts of Europe became either more feeble, or more deeply engaged in the momentous concerns of the long revolutionary war, their western settlements came to feel not only that they were strong enough to protect themselves, but that they might eventually be forced to do so, if they wished to evade subjection to a power, whose manners, habits and language, were foreign, and consequently hateful to them. The period during which they were thus, in a manner, left to themselves, taught them to discover and to depend on their own resources; and the constant demands for money supplies from a distant government, which could afford in return little aid or protection, disgusted the natives with so distant and expensive a monarchy.

The influence of the church too, which had hitherto been almost omnipotent in favour of the ancient order of things, began to be exerted, perhaps unintentionally, in the cause of independence. To prevent South America from falling into the hands of the French, a nation without an inquisition, and tolerant alike of Jew, heretic, and infidel, became a serious object with the priests; and hence,

while the revolutionists proceeded at first cautiously, and only professed to hold the country for the legitimate sovereign, resisting the French usurpation, the priests were always to be found on the patriot side. They began to discover the necessity of more education among themselves; hence, books long proscribed and placed on the interdicted lists, were sought after, and read with eagerness. Persons were sent even to England to purchase these; and, though, in the first heat of the moment, good and bad were taken together, and systems of all kinds mingled and confused, yet all tended to produce an anxious longing for independence, a serious determination to cast off the yoke of the mother country.

This design was furthered in no small degree by emissaries from the central junta of Old Spain, who came partly to raise supplies for the Peninsular war, partly to persuade the colonies to disavow the sovereignty of Joseph Buonaparte, and to reserve themselves for their rightful sovereign Ferdinand. They brought with them the opinion of Don Gaspar Jovellanos, delivered on the 7th of October, 1808, before the central junta, where he says, "When a people "discovers the imminent danger of the society of which it is a "member, and knows that the administrators of the authority, who "ought to govern and defend it, are suborned and enslaved, it "naturally enters into the necessity of defending itself, and of con-"sequence acquires an extraordinary and legitimate right of insur-"rection." The South Americans were too much in earnest in their wishes for independence to let slip so favourable a pretext, and those who had not begun the work of revolution before, now advanced towards it with greater or less caution as their situation permitted.

But there is no comparison between the circumstances under which the British colonies of North America asserted their independence, and those in which the Spaniards in South America are now struggling for it. The Spanish colonies, from the first, had furnished such abundance of gold and silver, that they became at once the objects of the attention, and of the interference of the government in Europe. The whole cumbersome machinery of an

old monarchy, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, was at once transferred to them. The rights of Mayorasgo, which is, in fact, a strict entail, by keeping immense tracts of uncultivated land in the hands of individuals, checked population by preventing that division of property so favourable to cultivation, and consequently to the increase of hands. * And, finally, every act of government emanated directly from the council at Madrid, and every officer of consequence, was a Spaniard sent from Europe, so that there was no occasion which could call out the talents, or exercise the powers of the natives of the country.

But the political institutions of the British colonies were more favourable to the improvement of the states, and the cultivation of the land, than any other. Many of the original settlers were men who were carried there by the desire of liberty of conscience, who took with them that sturdy and independent spirit which resists interference, as oppression; and who, forming their own provincial councils, legislated and governed for themselves, and transmitted that privilege to their children. The land too was by no means so engrossed. Alienation was made easy, and as each person obtaining a new grant was obliged to cultivate a certain proportion of his land, population increased as rapidly as the means of subsistence; and the governors being mostly chosen from among the colonists themselves, there was always a proportion of men so educated as to be capable of that important task.

Hence the states of North America, firm and united in purpose, and prepared by the best education (for there is an education of states as well as men), rose at once from the state of a disunited colony, after an expensive war, to the dignity of a great nation, while years must, perhaps, elapse before the harassed provinces of Spanish

* I am aware that the subdivision of property may be carried to a mischievous length, as is now, or will shortly be, the case in France by the operation of the Agrarian law. But in Chile the enormous estates are mischievous, because it is impossible that any one proprietor in the present state of the country, or perhaps in any state, should attempt the improvement of a twentieth part of his land.

America can assume a national character, even now that the yoke of Spain is virtually broken, for want of the internal material, if I may so speak, to form a government.

The whole system of Spain, while the colonies were kept close, was, with regard to them, commercial, and not political. The vice-roys were, in fact, after the first wars with the natives were over, no more than the presidents of a set of monopolists; their views were bounded by their sordid and narrow mercantile interests, and the government and occupation of Mexico and Peru were never looked upon otherwise than as a means of acquiring riches, while the freedom, happiness, or interest of the inhabitants was neglected. Sloth and ignorance were the necessary consequences; and when the people roused, as from sleep, and asserted their independence, the habits and ideas of the class, from which of necessity the chiefs and governors were chosen, had been so moulded on those of the ancient order of things, that they have followed the same path; and regarding the possession of power as merely that of the capital of a mercantile company, they have speculated accordingly, and, by petty trafficking, public and private monopolies, and trading schemes, have injured the people they ruled, excited distrust among foreigners, and, in many cases, ruined themselves.

Such, at least, has been the case in Chile, and such I believe it to have been in Peru and the provinces of La Plata. I am too little informed of the facts relating to Columbia and Mexico, but, from what has come to my knowledge, I suspect it has not been very different with them: but it is time to return to the history of Chile, of which alone I can speak with certainty.

It was on the 22d of June, 1810, that Carasco, captain-general of Chile, having convened the inhabitants of Santiago to a meeting in the palace square for the purpose of promulgating to them the orders of the expatriated court of Spain to obey the French regency, that the first popular tumult took place. Some private meetings had been held before. The agents of the central junta were not inactive, but no public occasion had yet appeared to call forth the public

sentiment. On that day, however, it was loudly declared, and although Carasco was suffered to remain in his office, the whole of the other members of his government, with the exception of Reyes, the secretary, were dismissed, imprisoned, or banished. A few days afterwards Carasco himself was cashiered, and brigadier-general Torre, Conde de la Conquista, was elected captain-general by the people.

At this time the royal troops in Chile consisted only of the usual 2000 men on the Indian frontier, with about fifty dragoons in the capital; and of these a part had been already gained over to the cause of independence by Don Bernardo O'Higgins, then bearing a colonel's commission, and stationed at Chillan, his native town. This officer was the son of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno, who sent him early to Europe, where he remained some years, five of which were spent in England, at the academy of Mr. Hill, at Richmond, in Surrey, where he had not only learned the language perfectly, but a good deal of the free and independent spirit of the nation.

The conditions on which Torre was made captain-general were, that he should not acknowledge the French regency, but reserve the province of Chile for king Ferdinand, adhering meantime to the principles and constitution of the junta. But some bolder patriots ventured to hint at a more complete independence, and the Marquis, with his natural timidity, at first endeavoured to silence these whispers, and afterwards sent the authors of them, among whom was the poet Dr. Vera, prisoners to Lima. Mean time the principal persons of the country had resolved on a complete change in the form of government, and on the 18th September of the same year a meeting was held, at which the office of captain-general was suppressed, and a junta was appointed which was to acknowledge the rights of Ferdinand, but to resist every foreign authority. Torre, the ex-captain-general, was named president; his colleagues were the Marquis de la Plata (the richest man in Chile), Don Francisco Rayna, Don Juan Henrique Rosales, Don Juan Martinez Rosas, and Don Ingnacio

Carrera, the speaker or secretary of the junta. The president was allowed a casting vote.

The first act of the junta was to levy an army, if we may call two small bodies of raw recruits by that name. The first of infantry was intrusted to Jose Santiago Luco, the agent for the junta of Old Spain, and, under him, to Don Juan Jose Carrera, the second son of Don Ignacio, and the other, a mounted troop, was placed under Torre, the son of the president. The next object to which the junta directed its attention was the assembling a national congress, to consist of members from every township in Chile, and while means were taking for carrying this desirable measure into effect, the Marquis de la Conquista died in the month of November, and the more active Rosas was elected president in his stead. It was not until the 11th of April of the following year (1811), that the people of the different towns met to elect their representatives, and on that occasion the first blood was shed on account of the Revolution. The immediate cause of this was as follows :—The royal party of Buenos Ayres had requested assistance from Chile, and accordingly 400 men had been detached from the army of the southern frontier under Don Tomas Figaroa by sea, from Talca to Valparaiso, whence they were proceeding by land to cross the Andes by the road of the Cumbre to Mendoza. They had already reached Casablanca on their way, when the fifty dragoons of the capital, alarmed at the electorial meetings, sent to Figaroa, entreating him to hasten his march, and to take under his command, not only their troop, but the recruits which were in training for the patriot army, whom they engaged to secure. Figaroa, leaving his 400 men to follow, pushed on to Santiago, and putting himself at the head of the dragoons, who had performed their promise of securing the recruits, whom they forced sword in hand to join them, went into the plaça with the imprudent determination of dispersing the people assembled for the purpose of electing their representatives. They were not, however, to be deterred from their purpose, and turning on the royalists, completely discomfited them and forced them to retreat, leaving about forty persons of both sides deadin the square.

Figaroa took refuge in the convent of San Domingo, where he was discovered the next day and brought out and shot in the plaça. *

Meantime the business of election proceeded, and in June the congress met. Don Bernardo O'Higgins, who was afterwards to act so conspicuous a part in the Revolution, being the deputy from Chillan. The first act of the representative body was to depose the junta, and constitute itself a legislative assembly, confiding the executive power to the commission of three men, Rosas, the president of the former junta, Don Martin de Incarada, and Don —— Mackenna. But Rosas was, at this time, absent at Conception, called thither by a species of civil discord which had nearly ruined the patriot cause. Conception having had some former claims to being considered the capital of Chile, being in fact nearly in the centre of its provinces, and situated on a harbour the most advantageous for commerce, had also been the most forward in furthering the cause of independence. Its inhabitants, therefore, insisted that the seat of government should be there placed, and particularly that the congress should sit there. The people of Santiago, however, who had long enjoyed the advantages attendant on having the metropolis fixed in their city, were not disposed to give them up. They pleaded also the safety of their situation, equally removed from the Indians and the sea; whereas Conception, so near the Araucanian Indians, who might easily be prevailed on to invade and waste their lands, (as indeed they have done since,) was too much exposed to be proper for the assembly of the legislative body. The prudence of Rosas for the time quieted the clamour of the people of Conception; and, as he still remained among them, Don Juan Miguel Benevente was appointed his proxy as one of the executive triumvirate.

The first act of the legislative assembly was to abolish slavery. All children of slaves were from that moment born free, and all

* May 5th, 1810. The viceroy, Cisneros, unable to resist the public voice at Buenos Ayres, had called together the first junta of government to resist the French claims on that province, and to establish a provisional government. In 1811, Artigas began to distinguish himself; — there has been scarcely a three months' cessation of civil war in that wide province since.

slaves brought to Chile were to become free on six months' residence there. But the congress, as is usual with all new political bodies, attempted to compass more than was within its reach at so early a period. Not content with seeking to establish independence by adapting old institutions to circumstances, substituting new where necessary, raising troops, and above all guarding the frontier; a college, museum, printing-office, and other public establishments were projected, which, however, there was not time to bring to any degree of perfection before another revolution took place, by means of a young man who acted so conspicuous a part in several succeeding years, both in Chile and the states of Buenos Ayres, that some account of him cannot be altogether uninteresting.

Don Jose Miguel Carrera was the second son of Don Ignacio Carrera, of an ancient Creole family, rich itself originally, but still richer at the period of the revolution, from the grants or easy purchases obtained by Don Ignacio, of certain lands forfeited either by old Spaniards, or by religious bodies which had been suppressed. This young man, possessed of great advantages of person, natural intelligence, and many qualities of a higher class, was uneducated and wild. In early life, like the heroes of Moliere's comedies, he had recourse to all sorts of petty and entertaining roguery to raise money to supply his private, and not always innocent expenses; till, at length, one of these expedients encroached so largely on the fortune of an uncle established as a merchant at Lima, that Don Ignacio, by way of separating him at once from the evil companions whom he regarded as the seducers of his son, sent him to Spain, where he entered the army. There is a dark story of an Indian murdered while defending the honour of his wife or daughter, which his enemies talk loudly of, and his friends know to be too consonant to his habits not to fear it true.

But Spain, at that period, was the last place which could reform either the morals or manners of a youth so gifted as Jose Miguel Carrera; — overrun with armies from every country in Europe; full

of all the crimes and wretchedness attendant on foreign and domestic strife. He imbibed indeed a spirit of enthusiasm, and a knowledge of the partisan or guerilla warfare which harrassed the French, and, even more than the victories of Wellington, drove them out of Spain; and he returned to Chile with no profit but a wish to join in the struggle for independence, and no desire but to imitate Napoleon, — to profit by what had been done by others, and to possess the country, and raise his family to a rank hitherto unequalled there.

The influence of his family was great. Don Ignacio, no longer a member of the actual government, yet possessed great weight; Juan Jose was already second commander of the chief body of the troops; the sister, Donna Xaviera, a lady of great beauty and address, both by her first and second marriage was connected with some of the principal families of Chile; and the younger brother, a singularly handsome youth, was very generally beloved on account of the sweetness of his manners, and his uncommonly amiable disposition.

With these advantages, Jose Miguel did not find it difficult to cause the dismissal of Luco from the head of the army, and to procure his own appointment to succeed him. His frank and noble manners quickly engaged the affections of the soldiers, his liberality confirmed their attachment, while his enthusiasm and eloquence gained him many partisans among the higher classes. But the command of the army while subject to the congress, and while that command was divided with the colonel of the artillery and other officers not of his family or faction, did not satisfy his ambition: he therefore began to sound the opinions of the various parties which a time of revolution is sure to form. To the patriots he pretended a thorough zeal for their cause mingled with hints of the slow progress of the congress; to the royalists he promised to restore the ancient order of things; and his own party were to see a council established with Don Ignacio at their head, and the three sons in command of the horse, foot, and artillery of the state. These schemes were not so quietly agitated but that reports and rumours of them got abroad; but so frankly did Jose Miguel carry himself,

so fearlessly did he deny or laugh at all who ventured to name them, that all suspicion seems to have been lulled. On the night of the 14th of Nov., when Mackenna, the commander of the artillery, called on Juan Jose in his quarters, he found the whole family assembled; the three brothers, Donna Xaviera, and the father: but as Juan Jose seemed to be confined by illness, even the unusual appearance of Don Ignacio in town, did not excite surprise. Jose Miguel accompanied Mackenna back to his lodging, saying laughingly, "certainly now they will say that my father is come to town to place himself at the head of affairs." The next morning, at daybreak, the city was alarmed by the sound of beating to arms. The principal officers of the artillery and grenadiers were placed under arrest. Juan Jose remained at the foundling barracks, while Luis put himself at the head of the artillery and detached two guns to the aid of his brother. Jose Miguel dispersed the senate and established a new junta of which he was declared president, and all the offices of government were filled by the Carreras and their connections.

Such a government, however, where the chief power was in the hands of a man of talent, it is true, but of so imprudent a character that no one could trust him, — of so changeable a will that himself knew not always what his own intentions were, — and so great a lover of pleasure, that the slightest temptation allured him to forget the gravest affairs of state in music and dancing, displeased all the provinces which were not in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. The juntas of Valdivia and Conception, in particular, made heavy complaints; the old claim of the latter city to be considered as the metropolis was revived; and a civil war appeared inevitable.* The

* The account given above of the early life of Jose Miguel Carrera, and of the manner in which he seized the government, was communicated to me by a gentleman who had resided during the whole period at Santiago, who was tenderly attached to Luis Carrera, his schoolfellow, and who evidently softened many things in his recital as much as possible. Nevertheless, I print as an appendix Mr. Y.'s very interesting paper, entirely satisfied of the truth of every part where Mr. Y. was an eye-witness, and knowing the rest to be the story told by the family, who undoubtedly loved Jose Miguel with a warmth honourable to him, although even his friends confess that he had no steadiness and little principle even in private life.

discontent of the south, indeed, had arisen to such a pitch, that Carrera put himself at the head of the troops, and advanced as far as the Maule, in order to reduce Conception; but Rosas was still there, and, having heard of the march of the army, he went out to meet it.

On reaching Carrera's head-quarters on the banks of the river, his prudent representations induced the young general to withdraw, and for this time to spare the effusion of blood. He therefore returned to the capital on the 12th of March, 1813, and resumed the reins of government. The sixteen months of his power had been of little use to the country. His profuseness to the soldiers increased their numbers indeed, but it was at an expense so new a state was ill able to bear; and of many useful projects he had formed, not one was really accomplished, partly owing to his unsteadiness, and partly to want of money.*

Meanwhile the viceroy of Peru, Abascal, was no indifferent spectator of the affairs of Chile; and seeing the discord that prevailed, he had ordered general Pareja, who commanded in Chiloe, to observe both parties carefully, and to seize on the first favourable occasion to restore the royal government. In consequence of this order, Pareja landed in Chile in the middle of the very month in which Carrera had made his excursion to the Maule. It appears that the royalists in Conception and Valdivia had believed Carrera to be in earnest in his professions of attachment to their party, at the time he had first seized the government, and that he would unite himself with Pareja as soon as a fit opportunity occurred. They therefore openly declared themselves for the royal cause. There was no union in the opposite party; and the whole of the south of Chile was soon in the hands of the invader.

But the Carreras, though by their imprudence they often forwarded the royal cause, or hurt that of the patriots, were not traitors; at

* The means which were resorted to in order to procure horses and other necessaries for the army rather resembled the lawless actions of a freebooter than those of the head of a regular government, — for private property was in no case respected.

least in that sense. They immediately marched towards the south, and in the very beginning of April the head-quarters of their army were at Talca. All the officers which their dissensions had cashiered or rusticated, were recalled. Mackenna was quarter-master-general; O'Higgins commanded all the troops of the south, and the native militia — a useful body in such a country, being most expert horsemen, and armed with lances fifteen feet long. The deep and rapid Maule formed the line of defence, whose very fords are not always practicable for horse, much less for infantry. A person named Poinsett, acting as American consul, was then with the Carreras, and appears to have taken an active part in all affairs, even to interfering in the military business of the time; but his ignorance, if not his cowardice, seems to have been of singular disservice to those unfortunate young men, who, following his advice, more than once retired to safe quarters, while inferior officers were gaining advantages over the enemy; and the unhappy issue of the affair of Yervas-buenas, which at first appeared favourable to the patriots, is entirely attributed to him.

Jose Miguel remained at head-quarters at Talca, five leagues from the river, while the great body of the army under Luis was on the bank of the Maule. Fortunately for the Chilenos, Pareja seems to have been a man of as little capacity for military affairs as their own leaders. Numerous skirmishes took place, the patriots generally gaining ground, till at length, in the beginning of October, the action of the Roble, where O'Higgins turned the fortune of the day, drove the enemy into Chillan, and left the Chilenos masters of the country between the Maule and Itata.

The singular and irregular conduct of the Carreras had now disgusted most of the Chilenos; their absence from the capital allowed time and opportunity for conspiring against them, and their overthrow was carried into effect quietly and decorously. It is believed, that the family of La Rayna was the centre of the plot; but they prudently took no direct share of the government themselves, appointing

as Supreme Director of the state, Don Henriquez Lastra *, a man of unquestioned probity and great good sense, though slow in business, then governor of Valparaiso and head of marine, and sending an order to Jose Miguel Carrera to place the command of the army in the hands of Don Bernardo O'Higgins. This order was for some time evaded, but at length complied with about the period when the brothers, Jose Miguel and Luis, were taken prisoners by the royalists and confined in Chillan. Meantime the patriots had recovered most of the territory north of the Biobio, and particularly the town of Conception. O'Higgins found the army in a sad state of want, the military chest exhausted, and daily parties were deserting †; so that he did not refuse to negotiate with the new Spanish general, Gaenza, who had been deputed from the vice-court of Peru, on the death of Pareja. The British captain, Hillier, of His Majesty's ship Phœbe, became guarantee for the performance of the conditions of the peace, the articles of which were signed at Lircae near Talca, on the 3d of May, 1814. It was stipulated that Chile should acknowledge the sovereignty of Ferdinand, at least until his restoration: and, meantime, govern herself by congress, and enjoy a free trade. Gaenza was bound to give up the Carreras, and with his army to evacuate Chile. But while the commissioners repaired to Lima to submit these articles to the consideration of the viceroy, a new change of affairs placed the Carreras once more at the head of the government.

The escape of the brothers from Chillan is said to have been managed by a royalist lady, who delivered them from prison, and gave them horses and money to convey them to Santiago. They disguised themselves as peasants; and early in August arrived at the city, where they went from house to house, and from barrack to

* Juan Jose Carrera had married Donna Ana Maria de Cotapos, a most beautiful woman, and niece to Don Henriquez Lastra. There had been a family dispute, owing to which Juan Jose had gone to Mendoza while Jose Miguel and Luis remained with the army.

† The army was so destitute of weapons that the yokes of the oxen were taken and used as clubs. O'Higgins caused a large wooden cannon to be made and bound it round with hide, but it burst after the fourth discharge.

barrack where they were known; and having prepared their party, and won over most of the soldiers, they deposed Lastra, and Jose Miguel once more became the chief of the state *. The first object of the brothers was to seize the treasury, which contained 800,000 dollars; they then gave way to all the imprudence of their characters, and their government became insufferably oppressive.

While these things were going on in Chile, the terms of the convention of Lucae had reached Lima, where Abascal was on the point of signing them, when the regiment of Talavera, with Marco at its head, arrived from Spain, and volunteered to go alone and overrun Chile; on which the viceroy changed his determination, and sent a strong body of troops † under General Osorio, who sailed from Callao on the 18th of July, landed at Talcahuana on the 12th of August, and marched immediately towards Santiago. "The incapacity of a "weak and distracted government," says Gibbon, "may often assume "the appearance and produce the effects of a treasonable corres- "pondence with the public enemy." And this juncture furnishes a fatal proof of the justice of the remark, for while General O'Higgins, who had been indefatigable in forming new troops and reducing the old to order, hung upon and harassed the march of Osorio, and was on the point of giving him battle in the neighbourhood of San Fernando, he received a deputation from all the authorities of Santiago and the neighbouring towns, entreating him to march immediately to the capital against a worse foe than the Spaniards themselves, in the person of Carrera, whose yoke had become intolerable. He accordingly left the main body of the army, consisting of about 2000 men, to observe the enemy, and marched towards the city with 900, when he met Carrera at the head of a very superior force, on the plain of Maypu, at a place called the Espejo, and sustained a decided defeat. After which he appealed both to the versatile Carrera and to those who had sent to invite him to leave the army,

* His colleagues were Don M. Munnos Orroa and Don Jose Urive.

† The regiment of Talavera alone was 700 strong.

whether it would not be better to unite to destroy the common enemy, and afterwards adjust their internal disputes, representing also to his own party, that the tyranny of Carrera being new would easily be put down, but by no means must they allow the Spaniards to regain their ancient dominion. The proposal was approved, Jose Miguel Carrera returned to the city, O'Higgins marched to Rancagua, where the enemy had arrived, and Juan Jose at the head of a large body of troops was to follow and join him. But O'Higgins was disappointed, the troops of Carrera never arrived. He was surrounded in Rancagua, and for thirty-six hours a fight continued from street to street, and from house to house, the Spaniards giving no quarter. About noon of the second day, Osorio sent a deputation to O'Higgins, offering him personal safety, and even royal favour, if he would surrender. This he indignantly refused, saying, he would not accept even of Heaven from the king, and that though he gave quarter he desired none. In an hour afterwards the town was on fire in several places. *

"They covered us," said the general †, "with black and red, death "and fire. So I took my banner, and I caused them to sew a black "stripe across it; and the fire having now reached the very house "from which we were fighting, and our ammunition being all "expended, we broke through one of the squares that had been "formed round our house, sword in hand, and made our way to the "capital."

On joining Carrera, O'Higgins represented to him, that as Osorio had lost many men, if all the troops were united they had still enough to overcome him, and save the capital. But a panic seems to have seized the whole body of government. Carrera hastily gave orders for the demolition of several of the public works, particularly the

* In June, 1818, in memory of the sufferings of Santa Cruze de Triano, or Rancagua, it received the title of the very faithful and national city; also permission to bear as arms, a red shield surrounded with laurel, a phœnix rising from the flames with the tree of liberty in its right claw, and the motto, "Rancagua rises from its ashes, for its patriotism rendered it immortal."

† I once heard Don Bernardo O'Higgins relate, with the greatest simplicity, the history of this action; I am sure he used the words in English as I have given them. It was on this occasion that the patriots loaded their guns with dollars.

powder mills; all the public papers and acts of the new government were burned; and, taking with him the remains of the public money, he began a disorderly retreat towards Mendoza on the first of October, 1814, and Osorio entered the city on the fifth of the same month, and, re-establishing the chamber of royal audience, appointed himself captain-general, and exercised his functions by punishing with severity the most distinguished patriots, many of whom were exiled to Juan Fernandez.

Mean time, some of those who had been most inimical to the royal cause sought safety in flight, and accompanied the 600 troops who followed Carrera across the Andes. The season was particularly backward; the snows had not yet melted; and of the 2000 persons who left the city, many, especially among the women and children, perished from cold and hunger in the Cumbre. It was too early for horses or any beast of burden to travel: so that these wretched fugitives performed the long and painful journey on foot, laden with the necessary provisions for the passage.

On their arrival at Mendoza, the Carreras instantly claimed a right to the government of the town; a claim evidently inconsistent with their fugitive situation, and which San Martin*, who then governed that town under the junta of Buenos Ayres, certainly would not attend to, but which had the effect of beginning that rooted dislike to them which at length brought about the death of the three brothers.

Such were the events of the first revolution in Chile, in which much was done, because the old systems had been broken up, and the people had learned in some measure to know their power: they also had learned, that unless they turned their attention to the marine, and formed a naval force, they could never be safe from the invasion of troops from Lima, or even from Spain. Hitherto they had possessed only two or three miserable gun-boats and launches, which had

* I have never been able to ascertain exactly either the place of his birth or his true parentage. He was in Spain attached to the military police, and is a very different person from the brave general San Martin, for whom many persons have mistaken him.

been chiefly employed in carrying intelligence along the coast, and keeping up a correspondence with the patriots of Peru.

Osorio's government lasted two years, during which time the Carreras, with their sister, Donna Xaviera, and their wives, had been occasionally residents in Montevideo, Buenos Ayres, &c. Jose Miguel had gone to North America to endeavour to raise supplies and procure ships, O'Higgins served in the patriot army of Buenos Ayres, and Mackenna was killed in a duel by Luis Carrera.

But it was not the mere possession of the government by a Spanish general that could again reduce Chile under the Spanish yoke. Besides the wish for independence, and for deliverance from their double thraldom, (for such it was, being bound both to the king of Spain and the vice-king at Lima), many individuals had risen to a consequence they had scarcely hoped to attain, and which, having attained, they were not likely to part with. "From shopkeepers and tradesmen, and attornies, they had become statesmen and legislators;" and as all men desire to possess influence and consequence, at least in their own country, this motive once felt, there was no reasonable hope of easily overcoming it. The reign of Osorio, or of Marco, his deputy, in Santiago, therefore, was not very tranquil; and as the wretched state of Spain prevented her from succouring her generals in the colonies, he was but ill prepared for the events of the early part of 1817, which lost Chile for ever to the crown of Spain. The state of the country itself was deplorable. The effects of civil war are at all times shocking to humanity. This had been both a civil war and a foreign one. Natives of the country had fought on either side, and foreign soldiers and generals were engaged; hence there were the petty and private hatred and malice of the first, and the want of sympathy with the sufferers of the last. Many of the dismissed soldiers had formed bands of thieves and murderers, and infested the thickets every where to be found between Santiago and Conception; nor was the road to Valparaiso exempt from the same. The regiments of Chillan and Talavera were employed in detachments which took it in turn to scour the country, and, if pos-

sible, seize and bring to the city the persons of the robbers;—a most harassing employment for them, and one which but ill answered its purpose. In any other country and climate famine would probably have been the consequence of these misfortunes; but Chile, as if spontaneously, still continued to produce her seventy and eighty fold of corn, and to supply Peru.

Buenos Ayres, under all its various governors and forms of government, had always looked upon Chile as linked in interest with itself. Those who thought of establishing one great empire, regarded it as the province which should command the trade of the Pacific, and probably secure the riches of the Philippines and Moluccas beyond it; while those who contemplated a federal state, saw it as a member under a light at least as flattering; and all depended upon its union with the provinces to the eastward of the Andes, as a matter of course. Hence, when the Chileno fugitives, after the battle of Rancagua, reached Buenos Ayres, they were not only favourably received, but a great effort was made to restore them to their country, and to assist them once more to shake off the Spanish dominion. There was besides a strong motive for such an effort. The passages across the Chilian Andes are short and easy, while those from Peru are distant and difficult; so that while the royal troops possessed Chile, the viceroy of Peru could always succour or communicate with the old Spaniards beyond the mountains by means of the port of Valparaiso. Therefore, to cut off this communication was of the greatest consequence to Buenos Ayres itself. Accordingly, the latter end of 1816 was employed in collecting a force at Mendoza, under general Don Jose de San Martin. Besides the Chilenos who had fled after the action of Rancagua, and many others on that side of the Andes, there were some troops from Buenos Ayres, particularly two negro regiments, which were placed under the immediate orders of General O'Higgins. General Saleres also commanded a considerable body of troops; and the whole number of the "army of the Andes" amounted to about 4000 men.

While San Martin was preparing all things at Mendoza for his

invasion of Chile, he caused himself to be surprised more than once by some Spanish prisoners of war that were on the point of returning to Osorio, in the act of examining maps and plans of the road by the south, called the Planchon, into Chile, and even went so far as to write false despatches and cause them to be surprised, intimating, that, in order to avoid the difficulty of the Cumbre, he meant to march by the Planchon. Accordingly most of the royal troops were kept in that quarter to be ready to receive him. In fact, a small party under General Don Ramon Freire did march that way; another small division took the usual road of the Cumbre; while the main body of the army pursued the way of San Juan de los Patos, with such complete secrecy, that the whole had crossed the mountains and reached the plain of Chacabuco before the enemy knew that they had left Mendoza. It was on the 4th February, 1817, while every body was expecting to hear of invasion in the south, that unwelcome intelligence was received in Santiago, that a party of the patriots had surprised the guard of the Andes about fifteen leagues from the villa of Santa Rosa, and that only thirteen men had escaped to bring the news. The guard of los Patos also brought intelligence that the enemy had been seen in that pass. The city was instantly in the greatest agitation: Marco the governor, together with the Cabildo, ordered and counter-ordered, appointed officers and changed them, and even then seemed preparing for flight. On the 5th Col. Quintanilla * was despatched from the city, to reinforce the troops already stationed in Aconcagua, Santa Rosa, and on the roads. He found on the 6th that most of the forces under Major Atero had retired to the heights of Chacabuco, leaving behind their ammunition and baggage, so hasty had been their retreat. On the 7th there was some skirmishing between the outposts near Curimon, in which the royalists were worsted; but it was not till the 12th that the great action of Chacabuco was fought, an action of infinite importance, not only to Chile, but to the whole of South America. Bolivar had been driven out

* The same who, with persevering loyalty, still (1823) holds Chile for the king of Spain.

of Terra Firma, and had taken refuge in Jamaica, the Buenos Ayrians had just suffered a signal defeat at Tucuman; and had Marco's troops gained the victory, the communication between the royalist armies would have been open, and the most mischievous consequences must have ensued.

General O'Higgins happened early on the morning of the twelfth to be looking over the plain from the summit of a rock, he perceived, and pretty justly estimated the number of the enemy at 3000.* San Martin was determined not to think them so numerous; but O'Higgins, certain of what he saw, persuaded Soler to join in his representation, and then begged permission, though his was not the division appointed to attack, to meet the enemy in a certain favorable situation: several refusals could not make him yield the point, and at length he rather extorted permission than gained assent, and made the attack at three o'clock in the afternoon. The patriots were once so hardly beset, being but the handful of O'Higgins's own division, that they sent for assistance, but did not wait for it, and before help arrived it was unnecessary. O'Higgins charged and broke the first line: every one fled, and the patriots remained masters, not of the field only, but f the baggage, ammunition, &c.; and the royalists fell back in every direction, under their leaders Maroto and Eloriaga.

When the loss of the battle was known in Santiago, the confusion was beyond description; every one escaped as he could, loaded with what he could carry, and the chief among the first. Some made their way by the Cuesta de Prado, others by the defiles of the Espejo, and some by the road of Melipilla: all crowded towards the sea. On the evening of the 13th, the confusion was transferred to Valparaiso, where, when some officers of rank arrived, they could scarcely find room in the crowded vessels. The magistrates had all embarked;

* 1000 horse, 1100 foot, 360 hussars, and artillery men for their four field-pieces, besides servants, &c.

The greater part of this account of the battle of Chacabuco is from an interesting paper written by an old Spaniard, called "Relacion de los acontecimientos de la perdida del reyno de Chile;" the rest from the verbal account of the director Don B. O'Higgins.

the port was abandoned; the populace in parties were ransacking the houses, and the beach was covered with people trying in vain to get on board the ships. 2000 ounces of gold and silver belonging to the treasury had been lost or stolen, and the prisoners had broken loose, and turned the guns of the batteries upon the royalists. Nine ships full of the fugitives sailed for Peru, but being in want of water, put into Coquimbo, where the patriots fired on their boats, and they proceeded to Guasco, where they discovered, that in the hurry of their departure they had left their chief, Marco, behind, each vessel thinking he was in the other. Upon this discovery, Don Manuel Olaguer Zelin took the command, and the little fleet proceeded in safety to Lima.

The patriots immediately marched into Santiago, where all their friends, and all who found it convenient to appear such, joined them. General San Martin was called upon to take the office of supreme director; but he excused himself, and recommended to their choice Don Bernardo O'Higgins, a native of the country, as one of her bravest and most enlightened defenders; San Martin remained at the head of the army. Meantime, the royalists still possessed the provinces of the south, and maintained a constant communication with Peru by means of their superiority at sea, a superiority which threatened to render vain all the exertions of the patriots.* The attention of the new government was, therefore, immediately turned to the creating a naval force. Captain Tortel, a Frenchman, who had been a privateer and a smuggler on so large a scale as to have been almost the commander of a man of war, and almost a merchant, had long been settled in Chile. He was from Toulon, and had the principles and feelings of the best and earliest of the French republicans. The two launches which, in the former patriot government, had done

* See Appendix. Manifesto del Gubrerno. The English merchants had effectually assisted the patriots by supplying them regularly with arms and accoutrements. As official paper of the royalist government of 1816, alleges as a recent reason for not allowing strangers to enter the ports, even to trade in copper, that Don Juan Diego Bernard had supplied the patriots with ninety-eight pair of pistols.

such good service by conveying intelligence along the coast were his, and he now, with incredible pains, had begun to form a little squadron, having been appointed captain of the port; persons were empowered to purchase two frigates in North America; and the agents of the patriots had instructions to treat with officers in England, and to purchase vessels there.

But the first object, unquestionably, was to regain the southern part of Chile; and accordingly in the month of May, 1817, i. e. two months after the action of Chacabuco, O'Higgins took the command of the army of the south, leaving the government in the hands of three commissioners, but some difficulties and disputes arising among them, Don Luis Cruz * was appointed deputy-director. It was not long before great part of the province and the town of Conception were reduced; but in the beginning of 1818 a strong reinforcement arrived at Talcahuana from Lima, commanded by Osorio, who immediately marched towards Santiago with 5000 men. He was met by San Martin at the head of the patriot troops, over whom, on the 19th of March, at a place called Cancharayada, near Requelme, he gained a complete victory, dispersing the Chilenos and wounding O'Higgins, who returned immediately to the capital, where all was alarm, and many women and children went out and crossed the mountains to Mendoza, as after the battle of Rancagua. † But the director exerted himself to repair the evil: money, clothes, and provisions, were instantly dispatched to the army. Many families gave their plate to be coined; the foreign merchants contributed their goods, their money, and their credit, so that by the fifth of April, the Chileno army under generals San Martin and Belcarce, and colonels Las Heras, Freire, and others, again interrupted Osorio on his way to Santiago. At one day's march from that city, the battle of Maypu was fought, on the plain to the south, called the Espejo, and never was action more decisive. Of Osorio's army 2000 were

* Afterwards Governor of Callao.

† On this occasion all the public papers, orders, documents, accounts, &c. were burnt, that private families might not be subjected to Osorio's revenge.

left dead on the field, 2500 were made prisoners, besides 190 officers; the artillery, medical establishment, and military chest, all fell into the hands of the Chilenos; but Osorio, with 200 horse, escaped. This victory was justly hailed as the greatest and most complete, as well as the most important in its consequences, that had been gained during the long course of the revolutionary war. It was, indeed, the last effort the Spaniards made for the recovery of Chile, though Talcahuana, Valdivia, and Chiloe, still held out against the patriots, and it allowed the Chilenos to carry the war out of their own territory, an advantage still more important.

But, while the public papers and public proclamations hailed general San Martin as the hero of Chacabuco and Maipu, those engaged in these battles, and who, consequently, were eye-witnesses of his conduct, ventured to doubt his personal bravery. At Chacabuco he was scarcely within sight of the action. At Maipu general Belcarce, colonels Las Heras and Freire and some others had fixed the attention of their fellow-soldiers, and it was not till he appeared leading the victorious troops after the action, that they remembered San Martin. However, pyramids, and medals, and ribbons, were decreed, and the general joy was too great to admit of very nice inquiries.

The forces on either side were not numerous; Osorio's, as we have seen, amounted to little more than 5000 men: but they were principally of trained and disciplined troops; while the Chileno army chiefly consisted of raw recruits and the country militia, armed only with Indian lances; the numbers were 4500 foot, and 2500 horse, with twenty pieces of artillery.

After the relation of such a victory, it is painful to advert to the tragical event which took place nearly at the same period at Mendoza. The attempt of the Carreras to seize on that town, on their retreat from Chile in 1814, had neither been forgotten nor forgiven by San Martin, who then governed it; and the restless and ambitious spirit of Jose Miguel, had involved his brothers too deeply in his projects, to render it safe for them to cross the path of their enemy. Nevertheless, Juan Jose, and Luis, after many various ad-

ventures, depending on the temper of the ruling parties of Buenos Ayres, and wishing to join their family in Chile, proceeded towards it in disguise by different roads, and at different times. They had been seized and recognised, however, near Mendoza, and there closely imprisoned. They more than once attempted their escape, well knowing that they could expect but little mercy from the military governor. The young and lovely wife of Juan Jose, accompanied her husband, and sold every thing of value belonging to her, to provide him even with common necessaries in the prison: it will give some idea of their sufferings, when it is stated, that a friend having sent her a fanega of flour, she actually went to the public market-place to sell it, to obtain a supply of other necessaries for her husband; and that a shoemaker whom she had formerly employed, seeing her in the market, and touched by her distress, made her rest in his house, while he disposed of the flour to the best advantage; and on the price obtained for it she and her husband subsisted almost until his untimely death. Meantime a commission had been sitting to take cognizance of the *crimes* of the Carreras. I have read the published account of it attentively; the chief article is the attempt to escape from prison — for as to having been members of the government of Chile, and having endeavoured to repossess themselves of their former influence, times of civil war open but too fair a field to all adventurers not to warn any successful leader to beware how he punishes such attempts too severely, lest the axe should fall in turn on his own neck. After the commission had sat some time in Mendoza, San Martin's confidential secretary, Monteaguda, arrived there, it was said solely in consequence of the rout of Cancharayada. But on the 8th of April, not many hours after he reached the place his name appeared affixed to the sentence of death pronounced on these unfortunate young men, which sentence was executed at six o'clock the same evening. They were seated on a bench in the public square, and, as the soldiers fired, they embraced each other, and so died! Their death excited pity for them, and fear of the party that so wantonly used its power: that fear has been

deepened into horror against some of the individuals. It must be confessed, that the severity was *useless;* and useless severity in governments, is always criminal. Their authority is conferred, that they may increase and guard the happiness of the community with the smallest possible abridgment of freedom, or happiness to individuals. But even while the struggle for independence was going on, the new governors became so intoxicated with power, that, with the name of freedom on their lips, they oppressed and murdered, and, while they gratified their own base passions, they called it public duty.

The Carreras were neither good nor useful citizens, but the two who had now suffered were, at least, harmless, and might surely with their families have been permitted to breathe in some climate, where they could not have interfered with the soldiers or governors of Chile. *

Meantime, the Spaniards had blockaded the port of Valparaiso by means of the frigate Esmeralda of 40 guns, and the brig Pezuela; but as the government had purchased a large vessel, called the Lautaro, armed and manned as a ship of war, and had given the command of it to Mr. George O'Brian, a lieutenant in the British navy, he resolved to go out and attack the enemy on the 27th of April, 1818; he did so accordingly, and both vessels had actually struck: but Captain O'Brian, having headed the boarders, who had taken possession of the deck of the Esmeralda, was shot by a man from below, whose life he had just spared. This sad event, by which Chile lost an active and intelligent officer, together with the confusion occasioned by the Esmeralda taking fire, obliged the Lautaro to retire without her prizes who escaped, but the port remained free from blockade. This little, though brilliant action, raised the spirits of the Chilenos to the highest pitch; and they redoubled their efforts to raise money to procure and equip a squadron. Taxes, voluntary loans, and subscriptions were all resorted to, and all were paid cheerfully for the

* See Mr. Yates's paper, in the Appendix.

great object. In aid of this, several privateers were fitted out, which at least served to procure intelligence of the motions of the enemy. But the encouragement of the privateers having been found detrimental to the manning of the regular ships of war, an order was published commanding them to give up their men, and to return to trade some time in August, in which month also are dated the first regulations for the rank of officers, and the first naval appointments, the admiral being Don Manoel Blanco Encalada, an artillery officer, who had many years before served as a midshipman in the Spanish navy; and the other officers were, with few exceptions, nearly as little qualified by previous habits for the service. During the course of the same month, a large ship, called the Cumberland, laden with coals, and commanded by Mr. Wilkinson, who had been first mate of an East Indiaman, arrived at Valparaiso: she was immediately purchased, and her captain persuaded to stay with her; and by the 30th of August she was converted into a ship of war, new named the San Martin, and hoisted the Chileno flag.

A singular piece of good fortune befell the Chilenos at this juncture. The Spanish government had fitted out nine transports, under the convoy of the fifty-gun frigate, the Maria Isabella, in which were embarked upwards of 2000 troops, under Don Fausto del Hoyo, destined to reinforce the viceroy of Peru. The crew of one of the transports, the Trinidad, or rather the soldiers on board, rose on the officers, seized the ship, and carried her into Buenos Ayres, where they joined the patriots, and gave information of the force of the rest, and their destination to the south of Chile. A courier was immediately despatched across the Andes: the government took its measures accordingly, and, redoubling every effort to get the squadron to sea, it sailed on the 9th of October in pursuit of the enemy. The force consisted of the San Martin, 64 guns, commanded by Captain Wilkinson, and bearing Admiral Blanco's flag; the Lautaro, 50 guns, commanded by Captain Worcester, who

was master of an American privateer during the last war, and who went to Chile on mercantile speculation; the 20 gun corvette, Chacabuco, under Don Francisco Diaz, an artillery officer, and an old Spaniard; the brig Araucana, 18 guns, Captain Morris; and the Pueyrredon, Captain Vasquez. On the 28th of the same month, the squadron discovered the Maria Isabella and transports in Talcahuana bay, under the guns of the fort, which contained four field-pieces, four one pounders, and three other guns of the same calibre. But with these it could do little or nothing to annoy the ships. The Maria Isabella and the transports were in a dreadful state — one-third of the crews and soldiers having died on the passage, partly because too many men had been put on board in proportion to the tonnage of the vessels, — partly from the want of ventilation and cleanliness in the ships during so long a voyage; and the crew of the Spanish frigate, after landing her sick, was reduced to 200 men at the most. Such was the condition of the adverse ships when the patriots, having about 1000 men, arrived in the bay. The Spaniards made a defence creditable to themselves, and when obliged to strike, the Maria Isabella ran ashore under the batteries, which endeavoured to protect her, but they were too weak for the purpose, and she was got off the day after. This was a real subject of triumph for the people of Chile. They had not only reduced the enemy's power, but they had gained a ship for their own squadron second to none of her class, an admirable sailer, and provided amply with all kinds of stores. Meantime the Buenos Ayres brig of war, Intrepid, had come round the Horn to assist the Chileno squadron, but did not arrive until the 11th of November, on which day, one of the transports, on her way to Lima, was captured; and before the ships reached Valparaiso, the Helena, another belonging to the same convoy, was seized. Of the nine that sailed from Cadiz, one, the Trinidad, went to Buenos Ayres, seven were captured by the Chilenos, and one was never heard of. Never had a fleet been so welcome to Chile as was the return of the squadron from the south on the 17th of November: it gave a

prospect of hastening the plans which had long been meditated for carrying the war out of the country. But the government, though gratified with this first success, and proud of the number of ships raised within seven months, still bitterly felt the want of competent officers. Their hopes were anxiously turned towards England, whence indeed the Galvarino* had lately arrived, and had been received into the service. Besides her commander, Captain Spry, she brought out Captain Guise, of the English navy, who was not without hopes of obtaining the command of the naval forces of the country; and a number of followers were about him who were so much interested that it should be so, that they seemed to consider it as his right, and had partly persuaded him to think the same. Captain Forster, of the British navy, had also gone to Chile with similar hopes and similar fancied claims; and at that juncture the success of the late expedition had not rendered either Captain Wilkinson or Captain Worcester willing to yield to any junior officer in the Chileno employ. Where these disputes might have terminated it is idle to inquire: they were, for the present at least, silenced by the arrival of one of the ablest officers that even England had ever produced.

By one of those singular coincidences which not the fondest calculation for the benefit of Chile could have anticipated, the agents of the government of that country, who had been instructed, if possible, to procure the assistance of some able commander, (Sir H. Popham, was once named,) were fortunate enough to find Lord Cochrane at liberty to devote himself entirely to the cause of South American independence — A cause to which he could honestly give his talents and his time, without violating those principles of regulated freedom, from which he had never departed.

The state of the Chilian navy required a man of prudence as well as courage, of temper as well as firmness, and in no one man did

* Formerly the Hecate, an English 18-gun brig of war. Captains Guise and Spry bought her, and brought her to Chile on speculation. She was purchased from them by the government of Chile, after being refused at Buenos Ayres.

these qualities ever meet in so eminent a degree. His naturally powerful mind had received all the solid advantage and much of the grace of cultivation; and his singularly gentle and courteous manner, which veiled while it adorned the determination of his character, was admirably calculated to conciliate all parties. *

He arrived with his family in a small vessel called the Rose, on the 29th of November, and was received with the greatest joy by the director, who came from Santiago to Valparaiso to welcome him. On the 9th of December the Maria Isabella was named the O'Higgins, and it was understood that she was to be offered to Lord Cochrane, but he did not hoist his flag on board of her until the 22d. There had been a petty scheming and intriguing cabal among the officers already in Chile, who, rather than see one so superior to them all at their head, or perhaps afraid lest he should lead them into danger, actually endeavoured to bring about a sort of divided command, wishing, as they said, two commodores and no Cochrane. This was not merely the cry of the English officers, they had gained some of the inferior ministers, whose jealousy of a nobleman and a foreigner it was not difficult to excite; but Admiral Blanco, the only man whose rank and interest were really likely to be affected by Lord Cochrane's arrival, cordially supported him, convinced that he was the only proper person for the situation.

Such was the state of the naval affairs of Chile at the close of the year 1818, the most eventful in the history of the country since its discovery. It will be necessary to go back a few months, in order to notice the state of the civil government.

On the first appointment of the director, all power, legislative as well as executive, devolved necessarily on him. No monarch is ever so absolute, for the moment, as a military chief just successful, es-

* If I had less cause for gratitude towards Lord Cochrane, I should probably do more justice to him, but to speak of *him* as he should be spoken of, would require not only an abler pen, but feelings more free from that sensitiveness that makes a friend modest in speaking of friend, as though he were a part of himself.

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pecially in the cause of independence, since he has the power of opinion as well as the power of the sword along with him.

Le premier qui fut Roi, fut un Soldat heureux.

But it became necessary to think of some kind of constitution for the country. Accordingly, the director named a commission for the purpose of drawing up the project of a provisional government *, to serve until circumstances permitted the calling together a representative congress. As soon as it was framed, books were opened in every parish, where every head of a family, or man who had means of living by his own industry, provided he was not actually accused of any crime before a court of justice, was competent to enter his assent or dissent, in presence of the curate, judge, and scrivener: the majority of votes determined the adoption of the provisional constitution, and on the 23d of October it was solemnly sworn to. On the same day, agreeably to one of its articles, the director named a senate, to advise with and assist him, whose province it was to make and modify laws and regulations, and superintend the business of the state; but the whole executive power remained with the director, and no secretary or employed minister was to be admitted into the senate. Its members were five: —

Don Jose Ignacio Cienfuegos, Governor of the province of Santiago.

Don Francisco de Borgo Fuentisilla, Governor of the City.

Don Francisco Antonio Perez, Dean of the tribunal of Appeals.

Don Juan Augustin Alcalde.

Don Jose Maria Rosas.

Each of these was provided with a deputy or proxy, in case of sickness or absence.

The first labours of the senate were naturally directed to the improvement of the finances, which, in spite of a total want of knowledge and principle in political economy, did advance considerably. Their attention was then turned to the establishing schools, the

* Projecto de Constitucion provisoria para el estado de Chile, 1818.

repairing of the old public works, and the forming new, particularly the canal of Maypu, which conveys the waters of that river along a high level, for the purpose of irrigating an immense plain, formerly barren, and the resort only of robbers, but with water capable of every kind of improvement. * These works had the advantage of giving employment to the numerous prisoners of war, whose subsistence would otherwise have been a heavy burden upon the state, and whose treatment was such when not so employed as humanity would gladly draw a veil over. But the Spaniards had given terrible examples, — no wonder if the nations they had oppressed sometimes retaliated.

General San Martin meantime had visited Buenos Ayres, but chiefly resided at Mendoza; he was augmenting the army, for the purpose of invading Peru, so soon as the troops and money could be ready, by means of the Chileno squadron; and he was believed, not without reason, to be the real director of all the affairs of Chile. The ascendency this man had acquired is singular; his courage is more than doubtful, and his talents are not above mediocrity. But he has a handsome person; an imposing air; a versatile manner, accommodating itself to all tastes, from that of a finished courtier to a country clown; and a great power of feigning. He is one of those of whom Bacon says, "There be that can pack the cards, and yet "cannot play well: so there are some that are good in canvasses "and factions, that are otherwise weak men." His secretary, Monteagudo, has many qualities in common with him; but the failings of the master are carried to a greater length, and certainly he is superior even to San Martin in unfeeling cruelty. But his acuteness is astonishing; he is "perfect in men's humours," — and so leads them by their own foibles: his eloquence was of great service to the good cause, though on many occasions his proclamations and state papers savour too much of that bombastic turn which the Spaniards in general are reproached with, and which is, indeed, very conspicuous on the western side of the Atlantic. The plain simple good

* The sale of the land and of the water on this plain has more than paid the expense, and is beginning to be a profitable concern to the government.

sense, honesty, and right feeling of O'Higgins, was not always a match for the more worldly talents of San Martin; and he was too apt to rely on the honesty of others from the very uprightness of his own intentions. It is singular, that, with that natural straightforward honesty, he should ever have been induced to admire or practise any thing like a crooked policy; but he was taught to consider it as a necessary evil in civil government, and therefore always preferred the camp to the palace, as there, at least, deception could not be requisite. The secretary, Zenteno, afterwards minister of marine, and governor of Valparaiso, was now rising into importance. He had been an attorney in Conception, had joined the patriot army early in the revolution; and, having been among the fugitives in 1814, had been so reduced as to serve as a boy in a pulperia, *drinking-house*, in Mendoza, for a maintenance, but rejoined the army of the Andes in 1817, and reappeared in his proper station. Zenteno has read a little more than is usual among his countrymen, and thinks that little much: like San Martin, he dignifies, scepticism in religion, laxity in morals, and coldness of heart, if not cruelty, with the name of philosophy; and, while he could show creditable sensibility for the fate of a worm, would think the death or torture of a political opponent a matter of congratulation. His manner is cold; but, as he is always grave and sententious, and possesses much of the cunning and quickness commonly attributed to his former profession, he passes for clever.

Such were the principal persons with whom Lord Cochrane had to deal on his arrival in Chile. O'Higgins was sincere; and of San Martin it may be said, that, like Lord Angelo,

> " I partly think
> " A due sincerity governed his deeds,
> " Till he did look on —"

the possibility of exercising absolute power in the rich country of Peru. But events will speak for themselves. The present business is with the history of Chile, during the early part of the year 1819.

The squadron of Chile then consisted of the O'Higgins, Lord

Cochrane's flag-ship, commanded by Captain Forster, the Lautaro; Captain Guise; the San Martin, Captain Wilkinson; and the Chacabuco, Captain Carter. * These ships sailed from Valparaiso under Lord Cochrane's command, on the 15th of January. Most anxiously did the people of Chile look upon this expedition. It was the first time they had dared to attack the enemy in his own strong-hold. Callao had always been deemed inexpugnable, and the ships of Spain had been accustomed to consider it as an inviolable sanctuary. Now the Chilenos saw their ships sailing to attack it, and a feeling of dread at the daring mingled with their hopes. Their own port had been blockaded but a few months before, and all their wishes had then been confined to being freed from the enemy's ships. But they had changed situations; theirs was now to be the inviolable port, and their ships were to attack the strong-hold of the enemy.

No wonder that every report was eagerly listened to, and that a stranger sail giving flattering news of their squadron was eagerly received; at length, however, true despatches arrived, and they were published in a series of extraordinary gazettes, as the most important documents that had ever reached Chile. The fleet had been principally manned with natives, many of whom were wild from the mountains: the whole squadron might have on board 300 foreign seamen, including officers; so that there was ground for anxiety on more than one account concerning the expedition. But the very first trial was sufficient to prove that the navy of Chile would in a short time have the dominion of the Pacific.

The squadron had fallen in with several vessels; and from the information obtained from them, the admiral had determined to cruize off Lima until the 21st of February, to intercept the San Antonio, which was bound for Cadiz with a considerable treasure on board; and then, on the 23d, the last day of the Carnival, to run into the bay with the Lautaro, and attack the ships and forts during the confusion usually occasioned by that festival. † The San Martin

* There were also the Galvarino, Araucano, and Pueyrredon.

† The reason (said to be so by some) for running in with only two ships, and those

was to remain behind the island of San Lorenzo, to act according to circumstances. But, on the 21st, so thick a fog came on that the ships lost sight of each other: it continued for four days, so that the plan for the 23d was frustrated. On the 26th it cleared a little, and the San Martin took the Victoria, laden with provisions from Chiloe to Lima; but the fogs which are so common on the coast of Peru still rendered it impossible for the squadron to act until the 29th, when a heavy firing was heard, which the admiral imagined was one of his ships engaging the enemy; he therefore stood towards the bay of Callao. The San Martin, Lautaro, and Chacabuco, who each imagined the admiral in action, steered the same way; and, just as the fog cleared away for a moment, they discovered one another. That moment of light had also discovered a strange sail among them; the O'Higgins followed and took her: she was a gun-boat, having on board a lieutenant and 20 men, one 24 pounder, and two pedreros. The admiral learned from the gun-boat, that the firing heard in the morning was in honour of the viceroy, who was visiting the forts and ships. Lord Cochrane, sure that some of his ships had been seen, determined to run into Callao, both to try his ship's company, and to endeavour to capture some vessel of war, or at least some of the gun-boats; the Lautaro followed him closely. They found the enemy's ships arranged in a half-moon of two ranks, the rear rank so disposed as to cover the intervals between the ships of the front rank; the merchant vessels were stationed in the rear, and the neutrals were anchored on the right. The O'Higgins had neutral colours*: but it was of little consequence. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Esmeralda began to fire on the two ships; her fire was immediately followed by that of the whole line of Spanish ships, and of the batteries. Unfortunately Captain Guise was severely wounded early, and his ship retired from action. Neither the San Martin nor

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under English colours, was, that they had information that two English ships were expected in Lima.

* The O'Higgins and Lautaro had both been painted to resemble ships of War of the United States.

Chacabuco came to support the O'Higgins, whether from a doubt as to the result, or from mistaken orders, has never appeared; and, therefore, the admiral, after sustaining the fire of three hundred guns from the ships and forts for two hours, was obliged reluctantly to retire. * The port of Callao was now declared in a state of blockade; and the squadron, when not cruizing, lay under the island of San Lorenzo, off the forts of Callao, about two and a half miles distant. On the 2d of March, the boats of the squadron, under Captain Forster, attacked the signal post on the island of San Lorenzo, destroyed it, released twenty-nine Chilenos, part of the crew of the Maypu who were chained and employed on the public works; and a few Peruvian prisoners were made.

As soon as the patriot squadron appeared in the bay of Callao, it had been debated in the vice-regal council whether red-hot shot might be lawfully employed against it, and the opinion of the archbishop declared in favour of it; but although some fell near the O'Higgins, as she was crossing the bay in spite of the firing of the ships and forts to stop a vessel entering, none seem to have done any damage. Between the 4th and the 17th of March a correspondence, of so singular and characteristic a nature, that I shall give large extracts at the end of the volume, took place between Lord Cochrane and the Viceroy of Peru. The subject was, the exchange of prisoners, man for man, and rank for rank. The letters of Lord Cochrane are full of humanity and gentleness; they aim at introducing a more humane system of warfare than that which had hitherto disgraced the struggles in South America; and they contain, on the part of his country, himself, and the men of his own rank in his country, the most dignified justification of his conduct in the war of independence.

Meantime there were constant skirmishes with the gun-boats. On the night of the 22d of March, a project that was first planned for that of the 19th, but then abandoned because the enemy became

* Lord Cochrane's little son walked the deck during the whole time with his father, holding by his hand; a man being killed at the quarter-deck guns, he said to his father, "The ball is not made for little Tom yet, papa!"

aware of it, was to be carried into execution: the boats were sent into the harbour first with a fire-ship, and the large ships were to follow, cover, and support them; but, by some inexplicable fatality, none but the O'Higgins joined, and thus the scheme was rendered nugatory. By this time the squadron was in want of water and other necessaries, and therefore on the 25th it sailed to Huaura to procure them. Here, after two days' amicable intercourse with the natives, the officers suddenly found the water refused, and the people forbidden to bring them provisions; upon which a party was landed from the ships, which marched to the little towns of Huacho and Huaura, and took them on the 30th without difficulty, thereby securing a good watering place and market for provisions. While the squadron was at Huaura, Admiral Blanco arrived there in the Galvarino. This officer hoisted his flag on board the San Martin as second in command, and shortly afterwards sailed to join the cruising squadron and maintain the blockade of Callao.

From the information received on the coast, Lord Cochrane found that several neutral vessels were in the different little ports embarking Spanish property; on which he ran along the coast with some of the vessels, and parties were landed to take possession of the small towns, the inhabitants being not unwilling to be taken. At Patavilca a considerable prize was made, in money (about 67,000 dollars) and provisions, sugars and spirits. At Guambacho 60,000 dollars were taken out of a brig, which was smuggling them on board. AtSupe his lordship disembarked the marines, who intercepted about 120,000 dollars under an escort of Spanish infantry. The money was claimed as private property by a Mr. Smith, an American; but as it was under a government escort, it was sent on board the O'Higgins; and it afterwards appeared that it was to have been embarked at Guarmey, in the American schooner, Macedonia, in the names of Abadea and Blanco, the agents for the Philippine Company. The American, Smith, was so enraged at the capture of the money, that in the cabin of the O'Higgins he pulled out a pistol and presented it at the head of Lord Cochrane, who put it aside with his

hand, saying, " Put up your pistol, Mr. Smith, you may make a " more prudent use of it," and proceeded coolly with the business he was about without farther notice of the enraged merchant.*

About the middle of April, part of the squadron appeared before the town of Payta, which the Admiral summoned to surrender. But the Spanish governor, although he must have been conscious of his want of power to resist, defied the patriots. Lord Cochrane, anxious to save bloodshed, sent a second flag of truce, which the Spaniards fired upon, and his lordship therefore landed some troops and his marines, and the town was almost instantly taken, together with the schooner Sacramento, three brass eighteen pound guns, two field pieces, a quantity of ammunition, sugar, cotton, cocoa, pitch, &c. Some of the marines having stolen some of the church ornaments, the Admiral caused them to be restored, and punished the offenders, besides sending to the chief priest a thousand dollars to repair the mischief done to the sacred edifices.† About the same time a rich prize, the fleet of Guayaquil, escaped owing to the caution given to it by an American vessel.

While Lord Cochrane was engaged in this expedition to the northward, Admiral Blanco was maintaining the blockade of Callao with the San Martin, Lautaro, Chacabuco, and Pueyrredon, which was continued till the beginning of May, when the squadron returned to Chile amidst the congratulations of all ranks of people.‡ There was indeed cause for exultation. During the first month the Chilian squadron consisted only of the

O'Higgins,	-	48 guns
Lautaro,	- -	38

* See the Gazette extraordinary of 2d August, 1819, by which it appears that Mr. Smith had forfeited his claim to be considered as a neutral merchant, having entered warmly into the service of the Viceroy, conducting his dispatches, and carrying his officers from port to port, all which services the Viceroy acknowledges in his public letters.

† See Gazette extraordinary of August 9. 1819.

‡ Admiral Blanco was put under arrest on his arrival at Valparaiso, on the 26th May, for having raised the blockade, though the ships were in want of provisions. A court-martial, of which Lord Cochrane was president, and Jonte judge-advocate, acquitted him honourably on the 22d of July.

		San Martin, -	60
		Chacabuco, - -	24

This little force had completely blockaded the port of Callao, whose batteries are tremendous, and where there were lying the

‖		Venganza, -	42 guns
‖		Esmeralda, - -	44
‖		Sebastiana, -	28
‖	§	Resolution, - -	36
‖	§	Cleopatra - -	28
	§	La Focha, -	20
‖		Brig Maypu, -	18
‖		Pezuela, - -	22
‖		Potrillo, - -	18
‖		Name unknown, -	18
‖		Schooner, 1 long 24 pounder, 20 culverins	
	§	Ship Guarmey, -	18
	§	San Fernando -	26
	§	San Antonio, -	18*

besides 28 gun vessels. Two hundred thousand dollars belonging to the Philippine company had been taken, besides smaller prizes, and many towns on the coast freed from the Spanish yoke.

Thus the viceroy found himself in the most humiliating situation, deprived of the provisions which were absolutely necessary to the country, and shut up in his capital by a force of not one quarter the strength of his own, but which, with an activity unexampled in these seas, went from port to port, put down all opposition, arrested his convoys both by sea and land, and attacked his forts and vessels even in their strongest hold.

On the return of the squadron to Chile, among other compliments paid to Lord Cochrane, a public panegyric on His Lordship was pronounced at the national institute of Santiago, of which I have only

* The vessels marked thus § are merchant ships, but hired and armed for the king's service; those marked thus ‖ are ready for sea.

been able to procure the following extract: — "He arrives at Callao: "that port is defended by the strongest forts of the Pacific, and "crowned with batteries. Ten ships of war, and a number of gun- "boats present a formidable barrier. The gallant admiral seizes "on the isle of San Lorenzo, anchors his squadron there, undertakes "to force an entrance into the port, and goes forward with the "O'Higgins and Lautaro: 300 pieces of artillery vomit death all "around him. From three sides the shots come to destroy his "ships: but he advances, unalterable, at a steady pace through these "torrents of fire: he strikes terror into the enemy, he spreads "around horror and death, he fires into their ships, and their fear "arises to such a height, that they make use of forbidden means, "firing red-hot shot from all the castles. After having harassed them "severely, he returns, serenely victorious, to the rest of his squa- "dron," &c.

Meantime, one of the frigates bespoken in New York, had arrived in Chile. * Both had reached Buenos Ayres. It appears that by the terms of a treaty with Spain, America was bound not to furnish the patriots of South America with armed vessels; therefore, on the application of the Buenos Ayrian government for two frigates for Chile, two vessels, the Horatii and the Curiatii, were fitted out completely in every thing but arms and ammunition; which, however, followed the frigates in the ship Sachem, and arrived a few days after them at Buenos Ayres. The scarcity of specie at that city prevented the full purchase money from being paid; on which the Curiatii alone hoisted the Chilian flag, after receiving her guns and her complement of marines; and the Horatii sailed for Rio Janeiro, where she was bought by the government †, the part of the purchase money already advanced being thus forfeited.

On the return of Blanco's division of the squadron, the supreme director came to Valparaiso to receive them, and also to inspect the

* 23d May, 1819.

† She is now in the Imperial service, and called Maria da Gloria.

new ship which had been partly promised to Captain Guise. On the arrival of the O'Higgins, however, on the 16th of June, Captain Forster, the senior officer, was appointed to her, and she was named Independencia or Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Some other slight changes took place in the squadron, and every exertion was made to refit and victual it, in order to resume the blockade of Callao.

While the navy was thus harassing the enemy's coast, the army of the south, under General Belcarse, was gradually gaining ground. The war there was, however, carried on in a more desperate manner. The royalist Benevedeis, in particular, had rendered his name odious by many atrocities, and particularly by the murder, in cold blood, of an officer sent by Freire to him with a flag of truce, and of the whole party that was with him, as well as other prisoners; they were cut down with sabres to save the waste of powder. General Sanchez was little behind him in cruelty. The latter had evacuated Talcahuana. Freire had taken Chillan, and success every where attended the patriots. (See Gazette, March 13th, 1819.) The most conciliatory proclamations were addressed to the Indians, who were invited as brothers to join the cause of independence, and hopes were entertained of their uniting with the patriots against the Spaniards. The domestic government seemed also to be settling into tranquillity. The adherents of the Carreras were, for the time at least, silenced. No foreign nation interfered between the mother country and the colonies, but all seemed to look with complacency on a change which promised a free commerce to the Pacific.

It is singular, that the experience of centuries has not been able to teach any nation that it is impossible to confine gold and silver, beyond a certain portion, within any particular state; or that so confined, they do not render the country any richer; because the moment there is more than sufficient for the purchase of other articles, the gold and silver becomes totally valueless. This applies particularly, where the precious metals are the chief products of the country. Yet even the reformed governments of South America, lay so heavy a duty on the exportation of gold and silver, that it would amount

to a prohibition, did not all nations combine to smuggle it away. In countries like these, where there are no manufactures, and little raw produce of any kind but the precious metals, the advantage of exchanging these for goods of every kind is most apparent. But the Spanish habits of thinking still prevail, hence the smuggling which elsewhere would be accounted scandalous, is openly practised even by British ships of war here, because in no other way, can the merchant obtain a return for his goods. Might not this be an article to be considered in any treaty entered into for acknowledging the independence of South America?

The British merchants had been of material use to the independent cause, by the large importations of arms and stores, both naval and military, which, in spite of every prohibition, they continued to furnish. It is true, that sometimes they also supplied the royalists; but in general their cargoes of this nature were for the patriots, between whom and themselves, there was a much more cordial intercourse than they had ever maintained with the Spaniards. In Chile the Protestant worship in private houses was connived at, and the Protestants had been permitted to purchase ground for a burial place, both in the city and at the port; and something had been attempted as to facilitating marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics, but it was too early as yet to hope for perfect and public toleration: yet the officers entering into the service, naval or military, were never incommoded on account of their form of worship, or even requested to change it.

The rainy season, with strong gales from the northward, was now set in, but the equipment of the ships went on with zeal, so that by the 11th of September, the squadron was ready to put to sea: a loan of 2000 dollars had been requested from the merchants of Valparaiso; they refused, however, any thing like a forced contribution, but instantly subscribed 4393 dollars, a fourth of which was from the English merchants, as a free gift to forward the expedition, which was now to adopt more active measures than on the former occasion. Lord

Cochrane offered as a loan for an unlimited time, the prize money he had made during the expedition. *

The squadron, consisting of the O'Higgins, Lord Cochrane; the San Martin, Captain Wilkinson; the Lautaro, Captain Guise; the Independencia, Captain Forster; the Galvarino, Captain Spry; the Araucano, Captain Crosbie; and the Pueyrredon, Captain Prunier, met at Coquimbo, to complete their water and other stores. They had with them two transports, chiefly employed in conveying mortars and rockets, with which it was intended to annoy the enemy. On the 28th of September, the squadron arrived off Callao, and began immediately to construct their rocket and mortar rafts, and to prepare the ships for action. The admiral began by several false attacks, in order to weary out the enemy; but on the night of the 1st of October, the Galvarino, Araucano, and Pueyrredon, entered the bay of Callao, each towing a raft, two for the rockets, and one for the mortars: the Independencia was ordered, also, to go in to protect the brigs, but by some mischance anchored eight miles off. Unfortunately one of the rocket rafts blew up, and severely wounded Captain Hind who commanded, and the men employed. The rockets themselves, either from bad materials or unskilful composition, did not answer their purpose; but the shells produced some effect and a constant discharge of them was kept up. Meanwhile the forts and shipping were firing incessantly on the brigs and rafts, and red-hot shot was used; but the damage done by it was trifling considering the circumstances, amounting to little more than the wounding the Araucano's foremast, and breaking one of her anchors †; the Galvarino lost Lieutenant Bealy and some men. On the three following nights feint attacks were made which annoyed the enemy as appeared particularly from an attempt made by their ships to escape from the bay on the night of the third: by the fifth every thing was ready for another serious attack. The brigs, as before, towed the rafts into their

* See Gazette, July 3. 1819.

† Stores were so scarce in the squadron, that the mast was fished with an anchor stock from the Lautaro, and an axe was borrowed from the O'Higgins.

places. Mr. Morgell had the command of the fire-ship Victoria; and the squadron was so placed, as to prevent the escape of the vessels from the roads: the moment the brigs were within gun-shot, the ships and batteries opened upon them. As soon as the fire-ship was within grape-shot, and close to the chain which defended the ships, Mr. Morgell set fire to her, and in ten minutes she exploded: had there been a breath of wind, the greater number, if not the whole of the enemy's ships, must have been destroyed. But, unfortunately it was calm, and it produced little effect; the rockets too, again failed although managed with still greater care than before, and Lord Cochrane determined to adopt some other mode of proceeding.*

The Spanish frigate, Prueba, having been reported off the bay, the squadron immediately chased her, but she escaped, and most of the ships sailed towards Pisco, in order to obtain stores, particularly spirits for the ship's companies, leaving the Araucano to look out at Callao, At Pisco, the troops from the squadron were landed and placed under Colonel Charles, of the marines, a brave and excellent officer, who deserved a better fate than to be killed at the taking of so paltry a fortress.† Major Miller was also severely wounded, and the patriots lost 10 men. The end, however, was answered, and the stores procured.

On returning to Callao, Lord Cochrane was informed that the Prueba had proceeded to Guayaquil, where, with other Spanish ships, she had taken refuge. He immediately went in pursuit of her, with the Lautaro, Galvarino, and Pueyrredon; and, arriving on the 25th of November, off the island of Puna, at the entrance to the river of Guayaquil, undertook, notwithstanding the prejudices to the contrary ingeniously kept up by the Spanish charts, to pilot his squadron up the rapid and dangerous stream. The night was the only

* The persons particularly praised in Lord Cochrane's despatch are Captains Spry, Crosbie, Prunier, and Morgel; and there is a handsome compliment to Admiral Blanco.

† He was buried at Valparaiso with military honours, on the return of the squadron.

time for this bold undertaking; accordingly on that of the 26th he entered the river, but want of wind obliged him to stand out again, and it was not till the evening of the 27th that he was able to proceed. Meantime he had learned that the Prueba had run up, even without discharging her guns, at Puna, a usual precaution on account of the shallows in the river, and was now under the batteries, which he was induced to believe very strong; but that the Aquila, of 30, and Vigona, of 20 guns, the best of the hired armed ships, were lying where he had expected to have found the Prueba. He immediately made sail for them, and at daybreak they saw with dismay the O'Higgins at their very anchoring ground, 40 miles up the river. The ships had each about 100 men on board, and they kept up a brisk fire for 20 minutes, but the broadsides of the O'Higgins were too much for them, and the crews took to the boats leaving the ships to the admiral. During this action the Lautaro and brigs which had remained outside of the Puna, were alarmed at the firing, concluding it was from the Prueba, and had prepared to sail in case the action had been unfavourable to the admiral; but they were relieved by the appearance of the prizes.* Lord Cochrane remained three weeks off the island of Puna, having occupied the village of that name, for the purpose of watering and procuring provisions for the ships, as well as cutting timber to load the prizes.†

Having received intelligence, that one of the Spanish frigates had taken refuge in Valdivia, the admiral resolved to proceed thither immediately on leaving Guayaquil, and accordingly sailed for that port on the 17th of December. On his way he fell in with and

* The beautiful brass guns of the Vigonia (15 pounders) were given to the Lautaro to complete her armament.

† There are upwards of twenty different kinds of timber to be procured at Guayaquil: that most esteemed for ship-building is called oak, though it has no resemblance to that tree; the wood is yellowish and brittle, therefore not fit for planking: but it is very durable, and bears being under water. The cedar and balsam timber is good; the ebony coarse. The ship-building at Guayaquil was one great source of the prosperity of that province, which has few or no mines. It produces cacao, rice, salt, cotton, tobacco, cattle, and wax.

captured the Potrillo, a small Spanish vessel with provisions, stores, and 20,000 dollars in money, which she was conveying to the garrison of Valdivia, and having sent her to Valparaiso, he proceeded to Talcahuano bay, where he arrived on the 22d of January, 1820. There he found the Chilian States' schooner, Montezuma, and the brig of war, Intrepid, belonging to Buenos Ayres; and, desiring to reconnoitre the port of Valdivia, he left the O'Higgins at Talcahuano, and proceeded in the schooner, under Spanish colours, to make his observations on the harbour.

Valdivia had always been considered as impregnable. The harbour is formed by the river of Callacallas, which, widening opposite the town to an æstuary of four leagues broad, narrows again at its mouth to half a league. Four considerable forts defend the narrow entrance, besides a battery at the Morro Gonzales, or the Englishman's watering place, in which there are altogether upwards of 100 guns, the fires of which cross each other from every point. Under the Spanish flag, however, Lord Cochrane ran in so close to the place that the health boat boarded him, and from the officer he learned the state of the ports and of the garrison, and immediately returned to Talcahuana to take measures for the attack he meditated.

On being made acquainted with His Lordship's plans, General Freire frankly lent him 250 men, under Major Beauchef; and, superior to the petty jealousy and bargaining which too often disgrace the operations of war, where the navy and army have to act together, he placed them absolutely at the admiral's disposal, and on the 29th, they were embarked in the O'Higgins, Intrepid, and Montezuma, and sailed on the 30th. Unfortunately the frigate struck on the rocks off the island of Quiriquina in getting out, but as it did not appear that she was much damaged at the time, the little fleet proceeded, and on the 2d of February, 1820, arrived off Valdivia, 10 leagues to the southward, when the whole of the troops were put on board of the small vessels, and the O'Higgins was ordered to keep out of sight till the next day. At sunset, the troops were landed at the Englishman's bay, Lord Cochrane accompanying them, and, as they

marched, rowing along the beach with four boys in his gig, exposed to the enemy's fire, to direct the march. The first fort to be attacked was that of the Englishman, situated on a promontory and defended by a strong palisade, headed by six guns which swept the beach. The soldiers, two abreast, continued to march along close to the palisade, which appeared impracticable, when a Chileno midshipman perceived one of the pales to be rotten at the bottom; he seized it; it gave way, but finding it still impossible to enter, on account of his large hat, he took it off, threw it over the palisade, got through himself, and quickly enlarging the opening, the rest followed him and attacked the fort so vigorously that it was carried in a few minutes. The moment this position was secured, the troops proceeded to the fort of the Corral, the strongest and most important of all, without paying attention to some smaller batteries behind. It was also speedily reduced, and of course all the southern batteries, Avanzada, Barros, Amargos, and Chorocomayo followed. The Colonel, Don Fausto del Hoyo, with what remained of his regiment (the Cantabrian), was taken. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was great, that of the patriots was only 6 killed and 18 wounded.

Next morning the O'Higgins arrived, and those on board suffered the most lively alarm from a trifling circumstance. Knowing the extreme danger of the meditated attack, they had obtained a promise from the admiral, that if all was well, he would hoist two flags of any kind on the outer flag-staff. As they approached they saw but one, and that one Lord Cochrane's boat's ensign, the Chile colours. His Lordship had but that one with him and could get no other. They began to fear he had been taken, and that the flag was hoisted as a decoy. Meantime, the troops in the northern forts, perceiving the frigate, hoped she was a Spaniard and made their private signal, which she answered and continued advancing, when a boat boarded her. All was safe, the admiral well. The Spanish flag was instantly hauled down, the patriot ensign hoisted in its place, and the troops no longer hoping for assistance, precipitately abandoned the town and

remaining forts, and fled in every direction; and the standards, barrack stores, military chest, &c., fell into the admiral's hands. *

This action is perhaps one of the most daring and successful on record, and done, like every thing Lord Cochrane has performed, for the use of the thing, and not for the display of his own courage or

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" Port of Valdivia, February 5th, 1820.

" SIR,

" Resolving to profit by the advantages gained last night, by our brave officers and men, I ordered the Montezuma to pass forts Niebla and Mancera this morning, in company with the brig Intrepid, and they both anchored under the guns of the Corral without other danger than that from two balls which touched the Intrepid. The troops embarked immediately in the two vessels, with the intention of entering the river, and taking possession of the enemy's head-quarters in the battery *del Piojo*; but we had hardly made sail, when the O'Higgins hove in sight abreast of the Morro de Gonzalo at the mouth of the port, and the garrison abandoned the works, flying precipitately.

" This unexpected retreat of the enemy having caused me to change my plans, the Montezuma and Intrepid were ordered to approach as near the shore as possible, and the troops were landed at the Niebla, until the tide should permit the boats to convey them to Valdivia. By this operation, the 100 guns of the castles, forts, and batteries of the enemies of Liberty and Independence are turned against themselves. &c. &c. &c.

" COCHRANE."

" Head-Quarters Valdivia, February 6th, 1820.

" SIR,

" While our troops were actually embarking in the boats, to follow the garrisons which had fled to Valdivia, we perceived a flag of truce coming down the river. By it we learned that the enemy had abandoned the town in the greatest confusion, after rifling the houses of private persons, and the public store-houses. We, at least, have the happiness to know, that we have omitted nothing that might protect the people, who, distinguishing between friends and oppressors, have assisted in the maintenance of good order. Those who had fled from their houses are beginning to return, and I hope that the governor, whom the people will name to-morrow, will secure order and tranquillity. To this end I have circulated proclamations, assuring the inhabitants, that they will not be molested in the slightest manner, and that the troops shall not interfere in any way, in civil matters. Want of time prevents my enclosing a copy of these papers. &c. &c. &c.

" COCHRANE.

" To Don Jose Ignacio Zenteno, Minister at War and of Marine."

In another letter, Lord Cochrane says: —

" At first it was my intention to have destroyed the fortifications, and to have taken the artillery and stores on board; but I could not resolve to leave without defence the safest and most beautiful harbour I have seen in the Pacific, and whose fortifications must doubtless have cost more than a million of dollars."

talent *; by it, the enemy was deprived of his last hold of Chile, and what is of still greater consequence, the Chilenos learned to place confidence in themselves and their officers, and to have the moral as well as the physical courage necessary for all great achievements.

But there is no character so perfect, no action so heroic, as to be safe from envy. As the Spanish poet says —

> " Envy is Honour's wife, the wise man said,
> Ne'er to be parted till the man was dead."

On the arrival of the news of the taking of Valdivia at Valparaiso, all the mean and bad passions of little men were awakened. The people at large showed a joy that perhaps exasperated the envious; but it is certain that there were many persons in power, with Zenteno at their head, and some even of his own countrymen, who scrupled not to say, that Lord Cochrane deserved to lose his head for daring, unbidden, to attack such a place, and for endangering the patriot soldiers, by exposing them to such hazard.

But the time was not yet arrived for any effectual attack on Lord Cochrane. The government felt his value, or rather the absolute necessity of the state required his services, and the clamours of the envious and ungrateful were for once stifled. †

Unconscious of these cabals, and encouraged by his success at Valdivia, Lord Cochrane naturally turned his attention to Chiloe, where

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* A force of 2000 men, with 100 guns, had been overcome by 350, aided by the presence and name of their great chief.

† On the 2d of March, the people of Coquimbo sent a congratulatory address to the director and the admiral on the taking of Valdivia.

On the 14th of August, the government voted medals to the captors of Valdivia, to be suspended by a tricoloured ribbon; to Lord Cochrane, Captain Carter, Major Miller, Major Beauchef, and Major Vicente, gold medals; and silver medals to 23 others. The decree says of the capture of Valdivia, " It was the happy result, of the devising of " the best arranged plan, and of the most daring and valorous execution." And it concludes, by conferring on Lord Cochrane, an estate from the confiscated lands of Conception, of not less than 4000 quadras in superficies.

This estate Lord Cochrane begged leave to return, that it might be sold for the payment of the sailors of the squadron. *This offer was not accepted.*

the Spaniards had still a strong position, under an able and determined officer, Colonel Quintanilla. The account of that expedition is best given in His Lordship's own letter addressed to the Minister of Marine: —

"SIR,

"The unfortunate circumstance, of the running ashore of the brig Intrepid, on the day I last had the honour of addressing Your Excellency, and her total loss in this port without either wind or storm, owing to her being quite rotten, deprived me of the greater part of the force and means for taking Chiloe. Nevertheless, I determined to proceed with the schooner Montezuma, and the transport Dolores, Captain Carter of the Intrepid having volunteered to command the latter, in order to reconnoitre the port of San Carlos, and to offer the inhabitants such assistance as was in my power, if they showed an inclination to shake off the yoke of Ferdinand.

"With this purpose we landed in the bay of Huechucucuy in the evening of the 17th. The soldiers, with the marines of the O'Higgins and Intrepid, took possession of the three outer batteries which defend the port, dislodging about thirty foot and sixty horse; but having afterwards lost their way, owing to the darkness of the night, in roads almost impassable, they halted till dawn, by which time the militia headed by the friars, armed with lances or whatever weapons they could get, had assembled in such numbers in the fort of Aguy, that it rendered the taking of that strong hold with so small an attacking force impossible. The brave Col. Miller being severely wounded, Captain Erezcano of Buenos Ayres, agreeably to my instructions not to engage the troops farther, caused them to retreat and go on board.

"Having re-embarked them, I resolved to return to Valdivia, conceiving that the securing that place and expelling the enemy from the province were more important objects than even the establishing a garrison in Chiloe.

"I ought to add, that the outer defence of San Carlos was entirely

destroyed by us, that there is safe anchorage, and that Chiloe is at the mercy of 500 men, whenever it shall please the government of Chile to incorporate it with the cause of liberty and independence.

" All the troops behaved with the greatest bravery; our loss consists of four killed and ten wounded. May God keep you many years. " COCHRANE."

" *Chiloe, Feb.* 19. 1820.

On Lord Cochrane's return to Valdivia, he furnished what arms he could to the people of the neighbourhood, to assist in driving out the enemy, and despatched Beauchef to Osorio with 100 men to secure that town, which commands one source of the supplies of Chiloe. Beauchef and his little troop were received by all the Indians both in the country and at Osorio with the greatest joy. " I believe," says that officer, in his official letter addressed to Lord Cochrane, " that I have embraced more than a thousand caciques " and their followers. They have all offered their people to serve " in the patriotic cause; but as circumstances do not require this, " I have invited them to return to their own lands, and have received " their promises to be ready if the country should call for their ser- " vices. I have distributed to each on taking leave, a little indigo, " tobacco, ribbon, and other trifles." The flag of Chile was hoisted on the castle of Osorio on the 26th of February; some cannon, forty muskets, and ammunition were found there, but no resistance was made, the Spaniards having escaped to Chiloe.

Meantime, in consequence of the damage sustained by the O'Higgins when she struck at Quiriquina, she was disabled from going to sea, and was therefore hove down at Valdivia to be repaired, while the admiral returned to Valparaiso in the Montezuma. Upon his departure, some feeble efforts were made by the dispersed Spaniards to repossess themselves of Valdivia, and to induce the Indians to fall upon Beauchef: but that brave officer speedily put an end to the struggle, and placing sufficient guards in Osorio and other posts, fixed his own head-quarters at Valdivia.

As soon as Lord Cochrane arrived in Valparaiso, he despatched the Independencia and Araucana with every thing necessary for repairing the O'Higgins, and with orders to return with her to that port as soon as possible. The great expedition, so long looked forward to, for the coast of Peru was now to be undertaken. The political temper of the Peruvians, and especially of the people of Lima, was ripe for it. A considerable body of troops had been assembled, and the taking of Valdivia having driven the enemy from his last strong hold in Chile, it only remained to prepare and victual the fleet in order to attack the provincial capital itself; and it was resolved that immediately after the next rainy season the expedition should sail. *

Meanwhile the ships were employed under Lord Cochrane's own eye, in surveying the coast in the neighbourhood of Valparaiso; particularly the bays Concon and Quintero, the former at the mouth of a very large river, and which might be important as a port for embarking produce brought down the river from the interior; the latter as being a fine harbour, better defended from the winds than that of Valparaiso, and better situated with regard to the facility of wood, water, and provisions, though more distant from the capital. Some of the ships' crews were also employed in forming piers for the embarkation of the troops, in fitting transports and other preparations for the expedition.

But the short-sighted policy of the financiers of these new governments who will not see that it is more profitable to purchase goodwill and faithful service by punctual payment to the soldiers and sailors, than to retain the money in their hands, even if they trade with it, or lend it for usury, which is not uncommon, had nearly unmanned their squadron, and deprived them of half their officers.†

* The instructions of the Viceroy Pezuela to the governor of Valdivia, found in the public office of the place, urge him strongly to maintain himself there; not only as preserving a footing in Chile, but as preventing the government from making the threatened attack on Peru, by diverting a considerable part of the forces. (See Gazette of the 22d and 29th of April, 1820.)

† On this occasion it was that Lord Cochrane offered the estate to be sold to pay the people.

The discontent broke out in the San Martin and Araucana early in May; but it was not until the middle of July that the only proper and just remedy was applied, that of paying the people and officers, which immediately restored tranquillity, and nothing of any moment occurred before the sailing of the troops for Peru.

While the arms of Chile were thus successful, the civil government was, at least, improving. Some sort of order had been introduced into the financial department; and, although the custom-house regulations were still, in great part, formed upon the ancient narrow Spanish system, there was a considerable improvement even in them. A college had been instituted in Santiago, and other works of utility had been carried into effect. A public library was founded, a theatre was built, and the director had even intended to have erected a telegraph; but the prejudices of the people, and especially the priests, against such a miraculous mode of communication, were too strong, and a telegraph must wait, at least, twenty years before it can be admitted in Chile.

But the army destined for Peru was now (August, 1820,) assembled at Valparaiso, and the name of Exercito Libertadore (liberating army) was resounded in all parts. The director had come to Valparaiso to be present at the sailing of the squadron; and he and General San Martin, who was appointed captain-general of the liberating forces, renewed solemnly those protestations in favour of Peruvian liberty which they had formerly made in the proclamations issued by them, and distributed among the people of Peru, during the preceding 18 months. In one of those of O'Higgins, dated Feb. 1819 *, he says, after telling them the expedition is almost ready — "Do not think that we pretend to treat you as a conquered "people; such a desire could have entered into the heads of none "but those who are inimical to our common happiness. We only "aspire to see you free and happy: *yourselves will frame your govern-* "*ment*, choosing that form which is most consistent with your cus-

* See Appendix.

" toms, your situation, and your wishes. *You will be your own* " *legislators*, and, consequently, you will constitute a nation as free " and as independent as ourselves."

In another of a later date, he says —

" Peruvians, — These are the compacts and conditions on which " Chile will affront death and toil to save you, contracted in the " presence of the Supreme Being, and calling on all nations to bear " witness, and to avenge their violation. You shall be free and " independent; your laws and your government shall be constituted " by the sole spontaneous will of your representatives. No in- " fluence, civil or military, direct or indirect, shall be exercised by " these your brothers, over your social institutions. You shall send " away the armed force that is now going to protect you the moment " you will; and no pretext of your danger or your security shall serve " to keep it with you, against your consent. No military division shall " ever occupy a free town, unless invited by the lawful magistrates; " and the peninsular parties and opinions that preceded the times of " your independence shall not be punished by us, or by our help."

A long proclamation * of San Martin, dated March, 1819, speaks the same language. After declaring that he is justly empowered by the Independent States of the United Provinces of South America and of Chile, to enter Peru, in order to defend the cause of freedom; he laments, at large, over the slavery of that kingdom, and rejoices that deliverance is at hand. " My address," he says, " is not that of " a conqueror, who treats of systematizing a new slavery. The force " of things has prepared this great day of your political emancipation, " and I can be only the accidental instrument of justice, and the " agent of destiny." He then goes on exulting in the certainty of victory over the oppressors, saying, " The result of the victory must " be, that the capital of Peru will see, for the first time, its sons " united, and *freely electing a government*, and appearing in the face " of the world in the rank of nations." Such were the views held

* See Appendix.

out by the chiefs of the expedition. Views in which Lord Cochrane sincerely participated; and his sentiments in favour of leaving the Peruvians to govern themselves were so well understood, that San Martin, fearing lest they should thwart some private projects of his own, actually obtained from the Chileno government secret instructions, empowering him to act as a check on the admiral's conduct; but it was long ere he found it convenient to make known that he possessed such instructions.

The Chileno officers, both native and foreign, of the army and navy, certainly believed in the sincerity of their leaders; and they imagined that, prepared as Peru was to receive them, they would have been led immediately to attack the capital, in order to put an end to the war at once. All were in the highest spirits, and on the 21st of August, 1820, San Martin hoisted the captain-general's flag on board the ship named after himself, and sailed with the squadron and transports, amidst the congratulations of all ranks of people. San Martin had with him the soldiers of Chacabuco and Maypu; and Lord Cochrane himself commanded the squadron. Victory was considered as certain; and the departure of the army was like a triumph. *

The soldiers and sailors were animated by the hopes of extraordinary rewards: San Martin having promised them a bounty of a year's pay, in addition to their wages, on the taking of Lima.

At Coquimbo, the squadron stopped to take in more provisions, and to embark the troops assembled in that town, and then proceeded towards Peru. Meantime, the director declared all the ports between lat. 2° 12′ and 21° 48′ south, or from Iquique to Guayaquil in a state of blockade, unless they should fall into the hands of the Chileno leaders: but in order not to oppress neutrals more than was necessary, the admiral had full powers to grant licenses upon certain conditions, for landing or trans-shipping their cargoes. †

* Among the poems that appeared on the occasion, the farewell of the ladies of Chile to the liberating army, and the answer, are the most considerable.

† Against this blockade the British commander-in-chief remonstrated, somewhat intem-

This necessary document being published, the director next caused a manifesto to be circulated, dated 31st of August, 1820. It is entitled "Manifesto from the Captain-General of the Army, Don "Bernardo O'Higgins, to the People whom he governs." It begins by congratulating them on the sailing of the Liberating Expedition, and then proceeds to give a short but clear statement of his political life, and the events, civil and military, in which he had been engaged. He says; "Educated in the free country of England, that desire for "independence which is born with every man in the climate of "Arauca was strengthened. Loving liberty, both from sentiment "and principle, I swore to assist in procuring that of my country, "or to bury myself under its ruins." The paper is well written, and the sentiments expressed do honour both to the head and heart of the supreme director, whose personal character has always been esteemed, while such of his actions as have dissatisfied the people have uniformly been ascribed to the influence of his ministers.

Meanwhile, the expedition had arrived at Pisco. On the 7th of September, the squadron passed San Gallan, and anchored off that place at six o'clock in the evening. Lord Cochrane immediately proposed to land a small detachment, and surprise the town before the enemy should have time to convey away the slaves, cattle, and provisions. The army was in want of recruits and horses, and as the ships were scantily victualled, it was of importance to secure the spirits and other stores known to be at Pisco: but this proposal of his lordship's appeared too hazardous to the captain-general, and the attack on the place was postponed till next morning. On the 8th, therefore, the first division of the troops was landed under General Las Heras, with two pieces of artillery, and formed into two squares, each of 1000 men, on the burning beach of Paraca, where they con-

perately, telling Chile in so many words, that a little nation had no business to attempt a great operation; and saying something about the law of nations, as if that law was not the same for little as well as great nations. The answer written by Zenteno, told him, that the Esmeralda had been taken, and that the addition of force gained by it gave Chile quite enough ships to maintain the blockade. Gazette, Feb. 24. 1821. See Appendix.

tinued until sunset. Meantime, about sixty of the enemy's horse were seen on a hill above, having come apparently to reconnoitre, but they were dispersed by a few shots from the Montezuma; and when the troops at length arrived in Pisco, after a march of six hours, they found that the Spaniards had conveyed away all the stores, and had sent the slaves and cattle into the interior, they themselves had retired to Ica, leaving nothing behind but jars of the brandy of the country, generally called Pisco: this was divided between the fleet and the army, and was most acceptable to the sailors, as they were in great want of spirits or wine. The next day the rest of the troops landed, and head-quarters were fixed at Pisco, whence regular bulletins were issued, containing rather pompous details of the feats of the great expedition; and several proclamations relative to the good order and discipline of the troops. In these bulletins, the real failures or oversights in the marching, ordering, or commanding the troops were corrected for the public eye. The foraging parties brought in horses and cattle sufficient for the army, but the fleet continued without adequate supplies.

During the fifty days that the head-quarters of the army were at Pisco, Colonel Arenales occupied Ica, Palque, Nazca, and Acari, taking a quantity of military stores, and revolutionising the country as he marched: but the captain-general remained completely inactive. Indeed, from the 26th of September to the 4th of October, he was carrying on a negotiation with the viceroy, an armistice having been concluded at Miraflores for that purpose. What the hopes of either party could have been, from the negotiation seem unintelligible. The grounds, however, on which the viceroy treated, were, that the king of Spain had sworn to adhere to the constitution in the month of March preceding. The same constitution had been published in Lima on the 9th, and sworn to on the 15th of this very month. Was it by Pezuela's authority, and on account of the arrival of the liberating force, that he had given directions, in consequence, that all the states, which had in fact separated themselves from the mother-country, should be invited to rejoin her, under the protection

of the constitution, their first magistrates receiving all the honours, and all the consideration consistent with the dignity of the Spanish crown?

But Pezuela must have been strangely deceived as to the temper of the South Americans, if he could have imagined that on such vague invitations, they would give up that independence that had already cost them so much: or, that an army, like that now at Pisco, would quietly withdraw from an enemy's country, on the mere requisition of its government. However, that no opportunity might be neglected of attaining that freedom peaceably, which, if not conceded by Spain, every man had sworn to die for, the proposals of the viceroy were listened to, and Colonel Don Tomas Guido and the secretary, Garcia del Rio *, were appointed plenipotentiaries on the occasion. But, as the viceroy insisted on the submission of all the South American provinces to the *crown* and cortes of Spain, the negotiation fell to the ground. The most conciliatory paragraph to be found in the viceroy's letters, after telling San Martin that his best way would be to submit to the king, and swear to the constitution, is the following: — "Although the Americans may have made some "objections, and some complaints concerning points in which they "feel themselves aggrieved, this appears to be of little moment; "for I assure your excellency, that wherever their complaints are "reasonable, they will be done justice to by the cortes and the king." † And on other grounds than that of first taking the oaths to the constitution of the cortes, the viceroy refused to treat, while the deputies of San Martin insisted on his recognizing the full authority of Chile as an independent representative government. The truce of Milaflores was, therefore, speedily ended, and hostilities were declared to have recommenced on the 4th of October, on which day the news of the revolution of Guayaquil arrived.

The commander-in-chief having sufficiently recruited his army,

* The same who was afterwards employed in conjunction with Paroissien, in libelling Lord Cochrane, not only in Chile, but in Brazil as well as in England.

† See the Gazettes, and the manifesto printed at Pisco, Oct. 13. 1820.

during fifty days at Pisco, re-embarked on the 28th of October *, and directed his course to the northward, but not, as every officer and man in the army hoped, to Lima itself. His first intention was to go to Truxillo, a town not less than four degrees to leeward of Callao, and where the army could have had no advantage, but that of being safe from an attack from Lima, as it was not approachable by land, and the squadron would have protected it by sea: with some difficulty General San Martin was prevailed on to abandon this plan, and to approach a little nearer the principal point of attack. Had he done so at once, the people were all so prepared throughout the country for receiving the liberating forces with open arms, that his success was certain: but he lingered. Some declared too soon for him; and they were fined or imprisoned, or corporally punished by the viceroy; others rendered cautious, demurred on the approach of San Martin's people about supplying them, and they were treated by him with military rigour; thus the people were worn out, and harassed till they looked upon both parties alike as oppressors, and lost the taste for national independence introduced by the violation of civil liberty. The General's conduct appears to have been guided by an idea, that

* The only event that marked the interval was the death of the auditor, General Jonte, on the 22d: the whole army mourned three days for him: this man had been one of the agents for Chile in England. He was one of those who mistake cunning for wisdom, and scrupled not to employ any petty means of obtaining the information he wanted, and of which he made use either for himself or his employers, well knowing how to dole it out. Such men, as they begin by the petty tricks of espionage, are apt to contract a love for the thing itself. Hence, not only public papers, but private letters, are violated; and I have seen an account of cattle opened, examined, and sealed up again, with wily cautiousness, in order to see if the very cow-keepers wrote politics. As for Jonte, his curiosity had become a passion almost insatiable, and the meannesses which he would have started from on other accounts, were practised daily by him for its gratification. It was believed, that he had been commissioned to offer Peru, Chile, and, I think, the Buenos Ayrian provinces as a sovereignty, first to a prince of the blood-royal of England, and next to a Bourbon prince. If so, it could have been only with a view of inducing those powers to stand by in neutrality, in hopes of a rich possession, while the Spanish American colonies were struggling for their freedom. The petty scheme was worthy of its authors, who certainly never meant to realise such plans, but merely to bribe England and France to abstain from assisting Old Spain: the cunning was childish and useless, and it marks the weakness of the employers of Jonte.

by simply appearing on the coast he could frighten the viceroy into submission, and that by harassing the petty villages along the shore, he could possess himself of the castles of Callao. However, on the 28th, as we have seen, he embarked; on the 29th, the fleet anchored in the bay of Callao, and having gratified his curiosity by a sight of the castles, and the naval forces, the captain-general proceeded on the 30th to Ancon, where he remained with the troops on board the transports for ten days. Meantime, on the 2d of November, the regiment of Numancia deserted the Spaniards and joined the patriots.

While the army was thus inactive, Lord Cochrane had been diligently employed in reconnoitring Callao, having formed the design of seizing the frigate Esmeralda, of 40 guns, which then lay in the bay under protection of the castles. Besides 300 pieces of artillery on shore, she was defended by a strong boom and chain-moorings; several tiers of old ships, armed as block-ships, guarded her; she was surrounded by 27 gun-boats of different sizes; and the enemy, dreading, lest she should be attacked, had supplied her and the block-ships with additional men, so that she had about 370 on board of the best sailors and marines that could be procured, and they had slept at quarters for six weeks. On the fifth of November, the purpose for which the necessary preparations for the enterprise had been made was first communicated to the officers and ships' companies; when the following address was read to them: —

" Marines and seamen!

" This night we are going to give the enemy a mortal blow: " to-morrow you will present yourselves proudly before Callao, and " your companions will look on you with envy. One hour of cou- " rage and resolution is all that you require in order to triumph. " Remember, that you are the conquerors of Valdivia: and do not " fear those who are accustomed to fly from you on all sides.

" The value of all the ships taken in Callao will be yours; and " besides, the same sum will be distributed among you, that has

" been offered in Lima to those who shall capture any vessel of the " Chilian squadron.* The moment of glory approaches: I trust " that the Chilenos will fight as they have done hitherto, and that " the English will do as they always have done, both in their own " country and elsewhere.

" COCHRANE."

" On board the O'Higgins,
" Nov. 5th, 1820.

The whole of the marines and seamen of the O'Higgins, Lautaro, and Independencia, volunteered for the service, but 240 only were accepted; and at eight o'clock in the evening all the boats, fourteen in number, assembled alongside of the O'Higgins, with their crews dressed in white, and each armed with a cutlass and pistol. The first division of boats was intrusted to Captain Crosbie, the second to Captain Guise; and, at 10 o'clock, Lord Cochrane, having given a few orders enjoining strict silence and the exclusive use of swords, got into his boat and pulled directly for Callao. They were first challenged by one of the gun-boats astern of the Esmeralda, when Lord Cochrane, rising in the boat and drawing his sword, said in an under tone, " Silencio o Muerte!" and was obeyed. He demanded the sign and countersign of the night. Victoria — Gloria; a good omen, and they passed on unmolested. In a few minutes the boats were alongside of the frigate, the starboard and larboard side being boarded at once. Lord Cochrane was the first man on board, and was shot immediately, through the flesh of the right-thigh just above the knee; but, having first seized the sentinel who fired at him by the heel and thrown him overboard, he seated himself on the hammock-netting and continued to give his orders. Meantime the Spaniards had retreated to the forecastle, and seemed resolved to defend their post. Twice did Captains Guise and Crosbie charge along the gang-

* The sum of 50,000 dollars having been offered by the Spaniards for a Chileno frigate, the same sum was levied on them on the fall of Lima, as if for the captors of the Esmeralda; but the money was appropriated by San Martin, and neither that nor the value of the vessel ever paid.

ways at the head of their divisions and were repulsed; and it was not until the third attack that they carried it. The marines, to a man, had fallen in their place on the quarter-deck.

The fight was renewed on the main deck, but it was, in comparison, feebly sustained, most of the people having now taken refuge in the hold, and the ship at length surrendered.

Lord Cochrane now ordered the boats to be manned, that he might pursue his plan of taking out the Maypu and some other vessels; but the men were busy plundering, and the darkness and confusion rendered it impossible to enforce the order. Besides, the castles had begun a heavy fire upon the frigate; and, although she had hoisted the same lights with the neutral ships, the Hyperion, English frigate *, and the Macedonia, United States' ship of war, the firing continued; so that to prevent her being damaged, her sails were set and her chain cables cut, and she was anchored out of gun-shot, with two of the largest gun-boats which Lord Cochrane had also taken.

The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and drowned, was very great. All the officers, three of whom were wounded, were taken prisoners, and Captain Coig, the commander, received a severe contusion from a ball from the batteries; 150 of the crew were also taken, with the standard of the commander-in-chief; a considerable quantity of naval stores, and some treasure. The loss on the Chileno side was 15 killed and fifty wounded.

Although Lord Cochrane was not able to complete the whole of his plan, the success he had gained surpassed all that had ever been done or imagined in those seas; and, indeed, if we except his own actions in the service of his own country †, no age or nation has

* The Hyperion and Macedonia had hoisted lights to distinguish them as neutrals. A midshipman of the Hyperion was standing on the gangway looking on, and seeing Lord Cochrane's noble bearing, clapped his hands in congratulation, and exclaimed, "Well and *Englishly* done!" Captain S. reprimanded him, ordered him below, and threatened to put him under arrest! Had Lord Cochrane been an enemy, a generous man would have felt with the midshipman; — but a neutral and a countryman! — The Macedonia behaved very differently.

† See the English Gazettes, of Aug. 1801, for the taking of the Spanish zebeck by the Speedy, in 1801; and from that time to Basque Roads, a series of exploits, of which every Englishman is proud.

witnessed so bold a design so ably executed. But who ever possessed, like him, the quick eye to perceive every advantage; the resolute spirit to undertake; and, above all, the perfect self-possession, in every situation, that is necessary to accomplish great actions! The secrecy with which this blow was planned, and the suddenness of the execution, secure to Lord Cochrane the double praise of the politician and the warrior. "For the helmet of Pluto," says Lord Bacon, "which maketh the politic man to go invisible, is secrecy in "the council and celerity in the execution; there is no secrecy com- "parable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which "flyeth so swift as it outruns the eye."

Coriolanus, when his country was ungrateful, went and commanded the armies of her enemies and revenged himself. Alcibiades fled to a tyrant's court, and disgraced the land he had left by his excesses; and most of those who have been obliged to "teach them other tongues, and to become no strangers to strange eyes," have followed either the one example or the other. But Lord Cochrane, when he left his beloved home, refused the splendid offers of a court, because he could not fight against the principles of his country, but went to a remote and feeble nation and employed his talents in assisting the sacred cause of national independence. And though, as all things sublunary are imperfect, Chile is still far from enjoying all the advantages that she should derive from that blessing for which he fought, — his part was done: the fleets of the oppressors were driven from the shores of the Pacific; and some principles established, and some seeds of future good were sown, that will immortalise him as a benefactor to mankind as well as a hero — things too often, alas! so widely different. But to return to our narrative.

On the morning of the 6th, a horrible massacre was committed chiefly by the women of Callao on the boats' crews of the Macedonia. It was not believed that Lord Cochrane with boats alone could have cut out the Esmeralda without the assistance of the English ships; and, as the people could not distinguish between the English and North Americans, they fell on the boats' crews that had

gone as usual to the market-place for fresh beef and vegetables, and butchered the greater part of them. As soon as this was reported at the castle, the governor sent out troops to protect the strangers, and the few that escaped owed their lives to this precaution. The admiral procured an exchange of prisoners on this occasion.

The same evening the Araucano carried the news to Ancon, where it was received in the most enthusiastic manner by the army. On the 8th the O'Higgins and Esmeralda also arrived at Ancon, where again the army cheered the admiral, and were full of hopes that they should now attack the town. Guayaquil had declared itself independent; the Numantian regiment had joined the liberating force. The enemy's best ship was taken, and the moral effect of these events, not to speak of the daily, though slight advantages gained by several officers, were calculated not only to elevate the patriots and to encourage their secret friends to declare themselves, but to dispirit the enemy. But though every thing seemed to court him to action, San Martin could by no means be induced to change his cautious plans, and therefore on the 9th he proceeded to Huacho, still farther from Lima, and, with the whole army, disembarked and fixed his head-quarters at Supe, whence he proposed to detach one-half of his army to Guayaquil, probably with a view to secure that province as part of his future empire. This most imprudent scheme was however abandoned, and the general contented himself with causing the troops to fall back from Chancay to Huaura, at the very time when, in addition to the happy circumstances already mentioned, Truxillo * had emancipated itself, and General Arenales had obtained a decided victory over the royalists under General O'Reilly at Pasco, on the 6th of December. † The troops soon began to feel the bad effects of the unhealthy situation of Huaura, and nearly one-

* The province of Truxillo was declared free on the 29th of December by the Governor, the Marques de Torre Tagle.

† The enemy's loss was 58 killed, 18 wounded, 343 prisoners, including 28 officers, two pieces of artillery, 300 muskets, the banners, ammunition, &c.; the rout was so complete, that O'Reilly fled with only three lancers, the battle having lasted forty minutes. Arenales lost one officer and five men killed, and twelve wounded.

third of them died of fever during the many months they continued there.

Meantime Don Tomás Guido and Colonel Luzuriago were deputed to Guayaquil to return the compliments paid to the *liberating* chiefs by Escobedo, the chief of that city, who had offered all the assistance of the rich province of which it is the capital, towards the accomplishment of their designs. Other views were also in San Martin's contemplation: the extraordinary successes of Bolivar in the north had given rise to the idea that his indefatigable zeal might lead him to the provinces of Peru. But it was by no means the wish of San Martin that such an expedition should be so far successful as to deprive him of any part of the empire he had now begun to contemplate for himself. His deputies, therefore, represented that on the fall of Lima, Guayaquil would become the principal port of a great empire, that the establishment of the docks and arsenals which San Martin's navy would require, must enrich not only the individuals actually concerned in them, but the whole city; whereas, if Guayaquil were subdued by Bolivar, it would be considered only as a conquered province, and of scarcely any importance to the immense state of Columbia. The existing government was therefore persuaded to form a militia, and to take every measure for keeping out any Columbian invader.

This was not the only negotiation carried on from head-quarters at Supe: a correspondence, voluminous enough for the whole states of South America, took place between San Martin and the viceroy, sometimes concerning the exchange of prisoners, sometimes that of titles of honour, and now and then the liberator complains of the petty abuse of the Lima newspapers, which complaints are retorted by the viceroy.

Nor was the *press* of Supe idle; besides the bulletins of the liberating army, edicts were published calling upon slaves to join the army, and promising to pay their masters; and flattering proclamations addressed to the European Spaniards.

Since the departure of the expedition from Chile, the director and senate had been uniformly engaged in endeavours to increase the

revenue: but they wanted the principles of political economy, and were never able to effect more than temporary supplies. They were more successful in the other branches of government: the laws concerning marriage were revised and placed on a more liberal footing than before. The police of the capital was improved, and generally speaking, a stricter execution of the laws provided for. The southern provinces however had been disturbed by the activity of Benevidies, a man of a ferocious character, who rendered himself hateful, not only by his rigorous obedience of his orders from Spain not to give quarter to Europeans found in arms in favour of the patriots, but by extending the cruel practice to the natives themselves of all ranks. The atrocities on both sides were shocking to humanity, and the scandalous manner in which the priests prostituted Christianity to the purposes of policy and war is not among the least revolting circumstances of the time*; upon the whole, the end of the year 1820 was far from being favourable on the southern frontier.

About this time, two circumstances occurred characteristic of the times, but otherwise of no importance. An English vessel put into San Carlos of Chiloe in distress, in order to refit and revictual; the governor seized the crew, alleging that Lord Cochrane and most of the crews of the Chile squadron were English, and that but for them the enemies of the king, his master, could never succeed. The other circumstance seems to give countenance to the idea that at some time and by some party, an imperial crown in South America had been offered to a Bourbon prince. Papers from Rio de Janeiro had stated that a number of French ships of war had arrived in the southern seas to convoy a great personage, whose views were however, for the present, frustrated by the actual state of Buenos Ayres. Shortly after the arrival of this report, several French ships of war did actually double Cape Horn, and enter different harbours in Chile, upon which the minister of marine applied by letter to the

* A figure of the Virgin was placed in a conspicuous situation; the patriot flag was presented to her, she shook her head; — a Spanish flag was brought, the arms of the figure instantly embraced it; and the omen was of course accepted by the multitude.

French commodore, to know why they had come into the Pacific. The answer calmed all their fears. In a very polite letter, M. Jurien assured the government of Chile, that the only object of His Most Christian Majesty for sending ships thither, was to form his young naval officers, and survey those seas.

Meanwhile, the blockade of Callao was carried on vigorously by Lord Cochrane; on the 2d of December, 16 gun-boats came out of the bay to attack the O'Higgins and Esmeralda, but after an action of upwards of an hour they were obliged to retire, with loss. A similar attempt was made, with the like success on the 26th, but nothing farther occurred till the beginning of 1821, except the taking of several prizes, chiefly laden with provisions. The month of January was employed in a similar manner; the squadron keeping up a close blockade, and detachments of the army under Arenales, &c. gaining slight advantages in the neighbourhood, but the main body continuing totally inactive.

The month of February was every way more remarkable. In the first place, General Lacerna superseded Pezuela as viceroy of Peru, by the will of the soldiery; in the next, San Martin published, on the 12th, a "Provisional regulation to establish the bounds of the "territory actually occupied by the liberating army, and the form of "administration to be observed until a central authority may be "constituted by the will of the free cities." A few phrases of which are worth transcribing, to show the style and spirit of the captain-general's publications. "Charged with restoring to this vast portion "of the American continent, its existence and its rights, it is one "of my duties to consult, without restriction, every means which "may contribute to that great work. Although victory should make "a strict alliance with my arms, there would remain a perilous void "in the engagements I have contracted if I did not prepare in anti-"cipation the elements of universal reform, which it is neither "possible to perfect in one day, nor just to defer entirely under any "pretext. The most brilliant successes in war, and the most glori-"ous enterprises of the genius of man can only excite in the people "a sentiment of admiration mingled with anxiety, if they do not

" perceive, as their termination, the amelioration of their institutions, " and an indemnification for their actual sacrifices. Between the " shoal of premature reform, and the danger of leaving abuses un- " touched, there is a mean whose amplitude is pointed out by the " circumstances of the moment and the great law of necessity." After a good deal more of the same kind, there follow twenty regulations, in not one of which is a single evil removed; but they all relate to the appointment of new governors, and tax-gatherers, and to his own full powers to rule; and especially to *punish* those whose political proceedings shall be offensive to him, or contrary to his views.

But the jealousy which had begun to intrigue against Lord Cochrane, even before his arrival, was now about to break out in a manner highly disgraceful to many of the officers of the Chileno squadron, and extremely injurious to the cause they served. Each, having come out as an independent adventurer, conceived, notwithstanding, that Chile had formally adopted the rules and regulations of the British service, that the ship he was appointed to was his own; and that his obedience to the admiral was in a manner optional, particularly in matters concerning the officers of those ships. Such ideas necessarily disturbed the discipline and good order of the service; and, unfortunately, the supplies to the squadron were so scanty, both as to war and sea stores, and clothing, and even victuals for the crews, that there was always some ground for complaints, and always too good a reason for overlooking improprieties, that might otherwise, probably, have been checked and prevented from growing into serious evils.

On the 28th of January, the government, wishing to compliment Lord Cochrane, resolved to change the name of the frigate Esmeralda. They had already a Lautaro, an O'Higgins, and a San Martin, in the squadron, and intended to have the Cochrane, but His Lordship chose rather to call her the Valdivia, in commemoration of the taking of that place; on which the surgeon, purser, and two of the lieutenants, wrote a most insolent letter to Lord Cochrane, stating that they had no objection to the ship being called Cochrane, but they thought her new name ought to have some reference to her captors, and not to

be that of the man who had been the first tyrant in Chile. This was followed up by other letters equally improper; so that in order to dissipate what was in reality a petty conspiracy, the admiral appointed these gentlemen to other ships, and substituted other officers in the Valdivia.

Notwithstanding this unpleasant business, however, Lord Cochrane had formed a plan, which doubtless would have succeeded but for these cabals. Having carefully reconnoitred the bay of Callao himself, he intended to go in with the San Martin, and all the boats of the squadron, seize the ships and gun-boats, and turn all the enemy's own guns upon the castles. The officers and crew of the San Martin volunteered with three cheers for the service, and everything was appointed for the execution of this spirited project, when, just as it was to be carried into effect, Captain Guise declared he could not serve unless he had his own officers back; Captain Spry declared he should stand by Captain Guise, and the whole squadron was in commotion. On the 23d, these two officers resigned their commissions in the navy of Chile; and on the 1st and 2d of March, a court-martial was held on the officers of the Valdivia, when, Michael, the surgeon, and Trew, the purser, were dismissed the service; the lieutenants, Bell and Freeman, with Kenyon, the assistant-surgeon, dismissed their ship; and Captain Spry was also dismissed his ship and placed at the bottom of the list, by sentence of a court-martial. *

These persons, together with Captain Guise, immediately proceeded to San Martin to induce him to cause them to be reinstated, and he accordingly sent them back to Lord Cochrane with a request to that effect. To Captain Guise His Lordship offered his ship, and to the lieutenants, commissions in other ships; but they refused to serve unless with their own captain, and by his order, and accordingly withdrew altogether from the service. The admiral was grieved not only at the occurrence which seemed to threaten the worst consequences to the squadron, but at the interference of the commander-in-chief in favour of these persons. Captain Guise's conduct seems

* Captain Spry afterwards deserted.

to have been a renewal of that hostile spirit, which at Valparaiso had instigated the contemptuous and insolent behaviour towards th admiral, that disgraced him before the sailing of the expedition, but which subsequent events seemed to have obliterated from the minds of both. Captain Spry was a low-minded man, and, perhaps, even then had in contemplation that treachery for which he was not long afterwards so liberally rewarded. His cunning had obtained great influence over Captain Guise, and he is believed to have been his chief adviser.

The next occurrence worthy of notice is the second taking of Pisco. That wretched place, after having been forced to maintain the patriot army for fifty days, had again fallen into the hands of the Spaniards who had severely punished the defection of the inhabitants. It was retaken by 500 patriots, under Colonel Miller, on the 22d of March, who collected the first day 300 horses for the use of the army, and as many oxen, sheep, and mules. Lord Cochrane, who had accompanied this little expedition, hoisted his flag on the 18th on board the San Martin, leaving the O'Higgins and Valdivia to protect the troops at Pisco, and returned to Callao, where he again attacked the gun-boats with effect. Meanwhile General Arenales had obtained another decided advantage over General Ricaforte and 2000 men.

Early in May a vigorous attack was made on Arica* ; but the landing-place being strongly fortified, the troops disembarked a little to the northward, and after the town had been bombarded for five days the Spaniards left it; and a considerable booty, besides 120,000 dollars in money was collected. These successes of the patriots induced the new viceroy to propose an armistice for three weeks to General San Martin, who gladly accepted it as the forerunner, it was hoped, of a pacific termination to a campaign wearisome to the

* Arica, the capital of a province of the name, is the southernmost port of Peru. The mines of gold and of copper are extremely rich, but the want of water in their district, and indeed in the whole province, is an obstacle to working them properly. The valley behind the town is fertile, and produces an immense quantity of red pepper. The town has suffered severely from earthquakes, and in 1680, it was sacked by the notorious Captain Sharpe, from which misfortune it never entirely recovered. There is a great volcano in the eastern part of the province, from the side of which flows hot fetid water.

invaders, and cruelly oppressive to the inhabitants of the country. However, as General Lacerna was no more empowered than his predecessor to acknowledge the absolute independence of the South American colonists, the negotiation only served to gain a little breathing time to both parties.

But the blockade had been maintained with such vigilance and spirit by the squadron, that the viceroy found the city was no longer tenable for want of provisions. The people had become clamorous, and all hope of assistance from Spain was abandoned; therefore, on the 6th of July, Lacerna evacuated Lima, and the liberating force was eagerly expected by the inhabitants to take immediate possession. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of both Peruvians and Chilenos as well as that of the neutrals in the harbour, San Martin's army made not the slightest movement towards the town until the 9th, when a small detachment was sent thither. * In the interval, as all the troops were withdrawn and the government broken up, it was apprehended that serious disorders would take place in the city; and Captain Basil Hall of his Britannic Majesty's ship Conway, sent to offer the services of his seamen and marines to the cabildo, in order to maintain tranquillity and to protect both the public and private property. The general himself arrived at Callao in the schooner Sacramento, on the 6th or 7th; and having waited till one detachment of his army was safely quartered in Lima, and a solemn deputation from the city to invite him to take possession had been sent to him, he landed and went thither quietly on the evening of the 10th.

The first days were employed in publishing flattering proclamations, and in those acts of self-praise and congratulation which every general or army occupying a new territory is in the habit of indulging in, but which San Martin carried farther than any commander whose manifestoes I ever had occasion to see. Although he

* Among other patriotic papers printed at the time, there was a sort of comedy, representing the men and women of Lima all on the high road, looking anxiously for the *excercito libertador*, and lamenting the dilatoriness which keeps it from blessing their sight.

had passed the time since his arrival on the coast of Peru in total inactivity, and although the capital had been reduced by famine occasioned by the exertions of the squadron, aided by the civil dissensions naturally arising from great private distress, yet he takes on himself the style and title of a conqueror, and, to read his official papers, one might think he had won the city by hard fighting. Callao, however, held out, though it was reduced to still greater straits by the occupation of Lima. The squadron continued to attack the forts and gun-boats on every opportunity; and on the 24th, Lord Cochrane, having observed an opening in the chain which secured the vessels, sent in Captain Crosbie with the small boats of the squadron that night, who brought out the San Fernando, Milagro, and Resolution, ships of war, besides several boats and launches, and burned two other vessels. A few days before, the squadron had suffered a severe loss in the San Martin which was wrecked at the Chorillas, having gone thither with corn to be sold to the poor at a low rate on the 15th July, and was totally lost on the 16th. *

But the exultation and ferment occasioned by the attainment of the grand prize for which all the exertions of Chile had been made, occupied all tongues and all eyes. On the 28th the independence of Peru was solemnly sworn to; but an incident happened that very night, which, like the sitting of Mordecai the Jew in the king's gate, poisoned the enjoyment of San Martin. Being at the theatre with Lord Cochrane, the people received them with the loudest acclamations: they gave San Martin all the epithets and titles that could gratify him, except that of BRAVE, which they constantly coupled with Lord Cochrane's name; an invidious distinction which he complained of to His Lordship on leaving the theatre, who generously made light of it, and applying the words addressed by Cromwell to Lambert; which Lambert afterwards recollected as a prophecy, he said,† "General, they are only old Spaniards, who would shout in the

* This was prize corn belonging to the squadron, who cheerfully gave it up at the suggestion of San Martin, who took all the credit of the timely supply, while it was literally given by the ships. See the Gazettes and Proclamations of that date.

† Bishop Burnet's history of his own times.

same manner if you and I were going to be hanged." To which he replied, vehemently repeating the words several times, " Oh, I will punish them in the most cruel manner." * From this moment his measures against the old Spaniards were determined, although the time was not yet arrived for completing his revenge. Nor were they alone the objects of his anger. To the jealous, " trifles light as air are confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ;" and I have no doubt that his jealousy of Lord Cochrane was increased to that fury which afterwards broke out, in great measure by this circumstance.

On the 29th, the most solemn masses were performed in thanksgiving for the deliverance of Lima from the Spaniards; and San Martin, a professed unbeliever, not content with a decent acquiescence in the rites at which he was necessarily present, distinguished himself by a zeal for all holy things, an energy of worship, and, above all, by excessive veneration for the tutelar Saint Rosa †, which I think rather prejudiced than favoured his cause, even among the clergy themselves. But at this present juncture all means were to be resorted to to conciliate all men; the clergy were particularly courted. A letter was written to the bishop to entreat him to use his good offices to keep the people quiet, and to show them the benefits of the new order of things. The Spaniards were flattered and assured of personal protection, and those who chose to remain were promised also the enjoyment of their whole property upon their soliciting or purchasing letters of citizenship. The officers of the squadron were caressed, and many of them flattered with assurances of honours, rewards, and personal friendship from the general.

At length, on the fourth of August, the grand measure which all these preparatives announced was carried into effect; and San Martin published a proclamation, declaring himself protector of Peru with an authority absolute and undivided. In direct violation of his

* Je les traiterai de la manière la plus feroce.—They were speaking French.

† At her church they show the dice with which she used to play when Christ came to amuse her in person. This is one of the most harmless and decent legends concerning her intercourse with the Saviour.

former promises*, he tells the Peruvians that his ten years' experience of revolutions had proved to him the dangers of assembling congresses while the enemy still had footing in the country; and that therefore, till the Spanish forces were entirely driven out, he should direct the affairs of Peru, though he sighed for a private station. He named Garcia del Rio his minister for foreign affairs, Bernardo Monteagado, minister of war and marine, and Torre Tagle that of finance. The despotism was absolute: all old laws were annulled, but nothing was substituted in their room but the protector's own will; and it was not long before that will displayed itself in acts for which nothing can account but the intoxication occasioned by absolute power.

No time was lost in transmitting the tidings of these transactions to the director of Chile; and perhaps San Martin thought, that by sending him the four flags which Osorio had taken at Rancagua, and which were found in the cathedral at Lima, he made up for that breach of his oaths of fidelity to Chile and its government, which he had now virtually committed by declaring himself an independent chief.†

Nor was this the only injury he meditated against the country he had left. The squadron had now been a year in constant activity; scantily supplied at first with rigging and sails, and provisioned only for a few weeks, nothing could have maintained it, but the good conduct of the officers generally, and the activity and vigilance of its commander. Sometimes making use of the powers given him to commute custom-house duties into supplies for the fleet; or, accord-

* See Appendix, for San Martin's proclamation before the squadron sailed from Chile.

† This seems indeed to have produced great effect on the director, who, in his circular letter published in the Gazette on the 25th August, 1821, congratulating the country on the success of the army and squadron, and on the acquisition of a sister republic, dwells at great length on the restoration of the flags in question. On the 30th of September they were sent in solemn procession, under an escort, to Rancagua, and delivered to the municipality, with a proclamation from the director. On the 2d of October, the anniversary of the unfortunate rout of Rancagua, they were conveyed to the altar of N. S. da Carmen, the protectress of the arms of Chile, and consecrated. The city presented a scene of festivity for several days.

ing to the same powers, granting licences to neutrals to trade on the blockaded coast, on the same consideration; at others, purchasing from his own private funds, and those of the officers of the squadron, the articles more immediately necessary; or seizing and converting the enemy's stores to the use of the patriots; he had thus long kept the squadron afloat. But the time for which the greater part of the seamen had engaged was now expired, and they began to be clamorous for their pay, more especially as the additional bounty of a year's wages, which was promised to them on the fall of Lima, seemed to have been forgotten. Lord Cochrane applied to San Martin on this head, on the day on which he became protector; excuses were first made on the score of want of funds, although the mint of Lima was in his hands; but at length he declared that he would never pay the squadron of Chile, unless that squadron were sold to him by the admiral, and then the pay should be considered as part of the purchase money. The indignation expressed by Lord Cochrane on this occasion violently exasperated the new protector; but as Callao had not yet fallen, his passions remained under some constraint, though his determination to possess the squadron was probably strengthened. This determination prompted him, in order to prevent the ships from withdrawing from the coast, to refuse all supplies and provisions, (so that the crew of the Lautaro was absolutely starved out, and obliged to abandon her,) in hopes of forcing the officers and men to go over to him.

The day following, Lord Cochrane wrote a letter to the protector, in which he asks him, "What will the world say, if the protector of "Peru shall violate, by his very first act, the obligations of San "Martin; even although gratitude may be a private and not a "public virtue? What will it say, if the protector refuses to pay the "expenses of the expedition that has placed him in his present "elevated station?—and what will be said if he refuses to reward the "seamen, who have so materially contributed to his success?" Notwithstanding this letter, and others still more urgent to the same effect, nothing was done. The ships were left so destitute of sails, rigging, and stores, that their safety was endangered; the provisions

were scanty, and consisted solely of old charqui *; the men had no spirits, and their clothes now were in the most wretched condition. The admiral more than once represented that they were on the point of mutiny: he himself remained on board to tranquillise them; for they now began to suspect that there had never been an intention of paying them, and they threatened to seize the ships, and pay themselves, by taking whatever vessels they found on the coasts. On the fifteenth of August, however, alarmed by the representations of Lord Cochrane, the protector renewed his promises of paying the squadron as soon as he should raise money sufficient, having allotted a fifth of the customs for that purpose. That fifth, however, was to be divided with the army; and the sailors were too well accustomed to the nature of divisions with the army, not to be still further irritated by a promise that seemed but a mockery of their sufferings.

But before I proceed with the affairs of the squadron, it will be necessary to return to those of the army for the last time, because as San Martin had now declared himself independent, and the liberating army of Chile had become the protecting army of Peru, my design is not to follow their history farther than as it is connected with the concerns of Chile and its squadron.

On Lacerna's quitting Lima he retreated to Jauja, where he formed a junction with the Spanish General Canterac; and they resolved, if possible, either to succour Callao, or at least to save the treasure which had been deposited there to a vast amount. Had San Martin continued the blockade of the fort by land, as he certainly might have done, especially as the squadron continued active in the bay, having, on the 15th of August, cut out two other ships and a brig from within the booms, such a scheme would have been hopeless; but he had fallen back with his army under the walls of Lima, and Canterac, profiting by the circumstance, made a forced march, and on the 10th of September, reached the neighbourhood of Callao. San Martin's army was drawn up in order

* Dried beef.

of battle. The brave General Las Heras and Lord Cochrane were on horseback, with some hundreds of officers and private gentlemen, eager to come to action; the enemy's force was small compared to the protector's army, and the general himself, as he called to the two officers above-mentioned, seemed really animated with a sincere desire of action, and a determination to engage; but he gradually cooled, wasted the morning in unimportant gossip, went to his customary siesta, and then ordered the soldiers to go to dinner. They however were resolved to exercise their sabres, and accordingly charged a flock of sheep, killed them, and then obeyed the General's latest orders, while the enemy, unmolested, proceeded to enter Callao. It was on this occasion that Las Heras, after having in vain urged the advantages of attacking Canterac, broke his sword, and vowed never again to wear the habit of that disgraceful day.* The admiral, (it was the last interview he ever had with San Martin,) also urged him, even at the last minute, and pointed out the way still left to preserve his own honour and that of the army; when he answered, "I alone am responsible for the liberty of Peru," and retired. This scene was followed up on the 15th by one equally disgraceful to the general. Canterac's army retired from Callao, carrying with it the treasure, and all the military accoutrements, without even an attempt being made to stop them.

Meantime Lord Cochrane and San Martin had both been endeavouring to negotiate for the surrender of Callao, with La Mar the governor. Lord Cochrane, intending to fulfil his promises, offered to give safe conduct and personal protection to all, on condition of delivering the forts to the fleet, giving up one-third of the Spanish property, and paying passage money or freight to such ships as he should provide, to transport them to any country. San Martin, however, who had no intention of keeping his word, offered unlimited and unconditional protection, both to persons and pro-

* He kept his word, and retired to Chile, where he lived in retirement till San Martin fled thither in Oct. 1823, when Las Heras retired to Buenos Ayres.

perty, on the individual's purchasing letters of citizenship. * Lord Cochrane's proposals were therefore rejected, and his hopes of obtaining thereby a sufficient sum for the payment of the seamen, and the repair and refitting of his ships, were frustrated. † He therefore resolved on a bold measure, but one which in the relative circumstances of all parties appears to me to be perfectly just. It must be remembered, as I have stated before, that the squadron had been twelve months at sea in constant activity; the men had received neither pay nor clothing; they had had no supplies of provisions but what they had captured, either on shore or at sea; some of the ships were leaky, and all were in want of stores of every kind; and, above all, the crews, who were at least half English, complained of the want of grog. The army, on the contrary, had been supplied with wasteful profusion, and all the honours and all the advantages of the campaign had been bestowed on its soldiers; its general had thrown off his allegiance to the country to which both army and navy had sworn to be faithful, and now wished to buy that fleet of its officers, which was, in the first place, not theirs to dispose of, and which they were bound to maintain for the Chilian government. San Martin had promised not only to pay but to reward the fleet; but he had failed to do either, and now denied his engagement to that purpose. He had also claimed for his own use several of the prizes made by the squadron.

Alarmed by the advance of Canterac's troops, San Martin had sent all the money and bullion from the mint and treasury at Lima to Ancon, and shipped it on board the transports, by way of safety.

* San Martin, after having gotten the old Spaniards into his power, exacted from them one-half of their property as a means of securing the rest; when they attempted to remove or transport the remainder, it was seized, and the persons of the Spaniards were, with few exceptions, imprisoned or murdered.

† A great number of Spanish fugitives, with their property, having taken refuge in the vessels, Lord Lynedoch and St. Patrick, which were detained on that account, Lord Cochrane permitted them to ransom themselves, applying the money to the supply of the squadron. One or two, who preferred trusting to San Martin, were afterwards cruelly treated, and deprived of all their property.

Besides this treasure, there were other public monies, with considerable sums belonging to individuals; and also, on board the Sacramento, the protector's own private property in gold and silver, the latter of which was in such quantity that the vessel threw out her ballast to make room for it; and the coined gold had loaded four mules, not to speak of gold bullion.*

As soon as Lord Cochrane knew that so much public property was on board the transports, he sailed for Ancon, where the Lautaro was then lying with the transports, and seized the whole of the money, excepting what was plainly proved to be private property †, and excepting also, the cargo of the Sacramento, which was left untouched.

The moment San Martin heard of the seizure, he employed every means of flattery and threats to induce Lord Cochrane to give up the public money, and to trust it in the hands of his commissioners, who, in order to save his dignity, would pay the ships' companies in his name; but to this Lord Cochrane of course refused to consent, though, in hopes that the Protector would send a commissary on board to attend to it, he deferred the payment until the men became so discontented, having begun to desert for want of their pay, that he felt he could no longer delay it. Meantime the forts of Callao had surrendered to the republican flags of Peru and Chile; and all farther dread of danger, from the squadron being in a state to leave the coast, being over, San Martin gave a reluctant consent to the payment of the squadron out of the money taken at Ancon. The ships' companies were immediately paid, and the officers, with the exception of Lord Cochrane himself, who received nothing, had their full arrears given them.

This, however, was not done without further struggles on San Martin's part to gain possession of the money, or at least to revenge the taking of it; to gain the first end, he had sent Monteagudo to talk to Lord Cochrane, well knowing that he was skilled to "make the

* The general's aide-de-camp who embarked this private property, loaded the return mules with goods smuggled from an English vessel, the Rebecca.

† Even after he had the treasure on board, all that could prove their right by any writing or witness had their money restored, — this restitution amounted to 40,000 dollars.

worse appear the better cause;" and then Lord Cochrane agreed, that on condition of receiving necessaries for the ships, and particularly anchors *, some portion of the bullion should be restored; but as the stores, &c. were refused, the money, amounting to 285,000 dollars was detained, and distributed as above stated; regular accounts being kept, and all being placed to the credit of the Chileno government. The scheme for revenge was more successful. At midnight, on the 26th of September, the very day on which the Protector had desired the admiral to make what use he pleased of the money, San Martin's two aides-de-camp, Captain Spry † and Colonel Paroissien, boarded the several ships of the squadron, and then, for the first time, made known the secret instructions and full powers granted by Chile to the Protector concerning the squadron. Besides this communication, they offered commissions, and held out the prospect of honours, titles, and estates, to such as might desert and serve under Peru. Then, finding that the admiral had discovered their nocturnal visits, Paroissien insolently went to him, and held the same language; hinting that it was better to be admiral of a rich country like Peru, than vice-admiral of so poor a province as Chile, and attempting anew to gain or bribe him. Of those officers who basely deserted their flag on these suggestions, most have been punished by the disappointment of their hopes, — and all by the contempt of both friends and enemies. The seamen were enticed to enter the Peruvian service by every possible means; and, while on shore enjoying themselves after receiving their pay, were either bribed or threatened into compliance. Nay, the faithful officers were put into the guard-house for attempting to induce them to return to their former ships. Thus the squadron, in bad repair and scantily supplied, was half unmanned. Yet, under these circumstances, now that Callao had surrendered, San Martin peremptorily ordered Lord

* Two that had been cut from the Esmeralda when she was taken, and one lost by the O'Higgins in an attack on Callao, were then in San Martin's possession, — he refused them.

† The same who had been dismissed his ship by sentence of a court-martial, and had afterwards deserted.

Cochrane to leave the coast of Peru, with all the vessels under his command*; on which order, communicated through Monteagudo, Lord Cochrane wrote the following letter to that minister, which I insert because it corroborates facts which might otherwise appear incredible: —†

On board the O'Higgins, Callao Bay, 28th Sept. 1821.

Sir,

I should have felt extremely uneasy had the letter you have addressed to me, by order of His Excellency the Protector of Peru, contained the commands of the Supreme Chief to depart from the ports under his dominion, without assigning his motives; and I should have been distressed indeed, had these motives been founded in reason, or on facts; but when I find that the order originates in the groundless imputation, that I had declined to do what I had no power to effect, I console myself that His Excellency the Protector will be ultimately satisfied that no blame rests with me; at all events, I have the gratification of a mind unconscious of wrong, and gladdened by the cheering conviction, that, however facts may be distorted through the refracting medium of sycophantic breath, yet mankind who live in the clear expanse, view things in their proper colours, and will do me the justice I deserve.

You address your argumentative letters to me, as if I required to be convinced of your good intentions. No, Sir, it is the seamen who are to be persuaded; it is they who give no faith to professions after they have once been disappointed. They care not whence the supplies of the squadron come, whether from the pockets of the Spaniards, in captured cattle and Pisco, as they have done, or from the treasury of their employers; they are men of few words, but decisive acts; they say, that for their labour they have a right to pay and food, and that they will work no longer than while they are paid and fed.

* San Martin issued orders, knowing the state of the ships, that, at the ports of Peru where they might touch, all supplies, even wood and water, should be refused.

† This letter was communicated to me at a time when I could not ask the admiral if it was quite correct; but I have reason to believe it is so, with the exception of such verbal inaccuracies as may have occurred in translating it from the Spanish.

This, Sir, is uncourtly language, unfit for the ear of high authority.—Moreover, they urge that they have had no pay, whilst their fellow labourers, the soldiers, have had two-thirds of their wages; that they are starved, or living on stinking charqui, whilst the troops are fully fed on beef and mutton; that they have had no grog, whilst the others have had money and opportunity to obtain that beloved beverage, and all else they desired. Such, Sir, are the rough grounds on which an English seaman founds his opinion, and rests his rude argument. He expects an equivalent for the fulfilment of his contract, and when, on his part, it is performed with fidelity, he is boisterous as the element on which he lives, if pay-day is past, and his rights are withheld. It is of no use, therefore, for you to make up an account upon the correctness of which I can make no remark.

You seem, in the next paragraph of your letter, to express surprise that when twenty days only have elapsed, we should again require provisions; but all wonder will cease if you refer to my letters, and to your own order, to supply twenty-days' provisions thirty-days ago. As to your assertion regarding the gratuitous supply of Pisco, I have to inform you that the charge for it was 1900 dollars, as appears by my account, supported by receipts and vouchers received at Pisco, and delivered to me by Captain Cobbet of the Valdivia, whose veracity and integrity I will pledge against that of any of the most honourable of your informants. In the meantime, on the delicacy of your contradiction of my assertion, I shall abstain from remark, and institute an enquiry, in order that whosoever has falsified the fact, may be publicly exposed to the merited contempt of mankind.

You tell me, Sir, that it is in vain to refer to my letters, stating the situation of the squadron to save my responsibility, because these letters have been answered (and in fair words too you might have added); but did I not warn you, that words were of no avail against the brute force of disappointed men clamouring for their rights? Did I not ask you in person to speak to these seamen, saying that I would co-operate with you as far as I could, and did you not neglect to perform this duty? How then can you assert that I refused to acquiesce in the views of government?

In what communication, Sir, have I insisted on the disbursement of 200,000 dollars? I sent you an account of money due it is true *, but, in my letter, I told you it was the mutinous seamen who demanded the disbursements, and that I had done all in my power, though without effect, to restrain their violence and allay their fears. You add, that it was impossible to pay the clamorous crews. How then is it true (and the fact is indisputable), that they are now paid out of the very money then lying unemployed at your disposal? I shall only add, that promise of sharing 20 per cent. of the customs with the soldiers did not satisfy the minds of the sailors, knowing the nature of the divisions already made. My warning you that they were no longer to be trifled with was founded on a long acquaintance with their character and disposition; and facts have proved, and may yet more fully prove, the truth of what I have told you.

Why, Sir, is the word "immediate" put into your order to go forth from this port? Would it not have been more decorous to have been less peremptory, knowing, as you do know, that the delay of payment had unmanned the ships; that the total disregard of all my applications had left the squadron destitute of provisions, and that the men were enticed away by persons acting under the authority of the government of Peru? That you yourself have given me no answer to an official letter, dated the 23d, calling upon you to put a stop to such unjustifiable proceedings? Was it not enough to land the supplies brought by the Montezuma, whilst the squadron for which they were meant was in absolute want, without the insult of placing guards on board and ashore, as if you felt a conviction that the necessity to which you had reduced the squadron might warrant the taking of food by force? If so, why are matters pushed to this extremity by the government of Peru?

I thank you for the compliments paid me regarding my services

* The accounts of money due to the Chileno squadron contained items for wages, promised rewards, prize-money, payment for ships taken and used by the Peruvian government, and freight of vessels belonging to the squadron as transports, besides the price of sail-cloth, cordage, and slops for the people. All this San Martin was bound to pay to the government of Chile, which had fitted out the whole expedition.

since the 20th of August, 1820, which shall ever be devoted to the country I serve. And I assure you that no abatement of my zeal towards His Excellency the Protector's service took place until the 5th day of August, the day on which I was made acquainted with His Excellency's installation, when he uttered sentiments in your presence that struck a chill through my frame, which no subsequent act or protestation of intentions has yet been able to do away. Well do I remember the fatal words he spoke, which I would to God had never arisen in his thoughts. Did he not say, aye, did I not hear him declare, that he never would pay the debt to Chile, nor the dues to the navy, unless Chile would sell the squadron to Peru! What would you have thought of me as an officer, sworn to be faithful to the state of Chile, had I listened to such language in cold calculating silence, weighing my decision in the scale of personal interest? No, Sir, the promise that my "fortune should be equal to that of San Martin," will never warp from the path of honour

Your obedient, humble servant,

COCHRANE.

After this letter, little communication, and none of a friendly nature, took place between Lord Cochrane and San Martin. His Lordship continued the payment of the officers and crews, and now that Callao had fallen, the great object for Chile being the taking or destroying the two Spanish frigates Prueba and Venganza, the last of the ships of that nation that remained in the Pacific; he prepared to follow them to the northward, and accordingly sailed for that purpose on the sixth of October. *

It is now time to return to the domestic affairs of Chile. Benevideis still kept up an active and cruel warfare in the south; and Jose Miguel Carrera, improved by the experience of eight years, and thirsting for revenge on the destroyers of his brothers, was at the

* The squadron consisted now of O'Higgins, Captain Crosbie; Valdivia, Captain Cobbet; Independencia, Captain Wilkinson; Lautaro, Captain Worcester; and the San Fernando.

head of a small but determined army, and had fought his way across the continent of South America, making alliances with the Indians and keeping up a correspondence with Benevideis by their means as well as with numerous discontented persons in Chile. Benevideis had met with various success, but upon the whole had lost ground. The patriot commanders, of whom Freiré was certainly the most distinguished, had gradually closed in upon him, and though he had incited the Indians to commit great ravages, and to burn the farms and carry off the produce of the southern provinces, he received no such aid from them as could prevent his final destruction, unless he received assistance from abroad, which the superiority of the Chileno squadron rendered almost hopeless.

On the 31st of August, Carrera's army, reduced by its very victories, and now consisting only of 500 soldiers, but embarrassed with a number of women and other followers, was completely routed.

Carrera himself, his second in command Don Jose Maria Benevente, with twenty-three other officers, were taken at the Punta del Medano, and carried to Mendoza, where he and several of his principal officers were shot in the public market-place, by, in my opinion, a piece of the most unjustifiable cruelty and false policy. I refer to Mr. Yates's paper in the Appendix for the reason of Benevente's safety, and the particulars of the death of Jose Miguel; the gazettes in which these things were announced to the public, breathe a fierce and atrocious spirit of revenge, disgraceful to the leaders of the nation and to the age.

Don Jose Miguel Carrera was only 35 years of age. His person was remarkably handsome, and his countenance beautiful and prepossessing. I have heard that his eyes seemed even to possess a power of fascination over those he addressed. Among all who have arisen to notice in the struggle for South American independence, he was undoubtedly the most amiable, his genius was versatile, his imagination lively, and his powers great, where he chose to apply them. I have heard that while at Montevideo, he wished to print some papers for distribution, and not having the means to do so, he shut himself up for weeks, and actually constructed a press, and

printed his manifesto himself. His spirit was gay and cheerful, and his body indefatigable; but he had little prudence and no reserve, so that he was as little to be trusted with the plans of others as depended on in his own, which, however, were always conceived with precision and energy, and bore directly on the point he aimed at; but then he proclaimed them too openly. He wanted education, for he had neither principles nor reading to direct him; and his character altogether appears to me to resemble no one so much as that of Charles the second's Duke of Buckingham. It is no wonder therefore that he did not succeed in placing himself, or rather in keeping himself at the head of any of the newly freed states of South America. His love of pleasure led him into expenses which swallowed up the means of either bribing or paying followers, and his careless, easy nature prevented his securing those who might be dangerous to him.

After his death, his principal followers and some of his nearer connexions were put in close confinement, others were banished, and some escaped to the woods and mountains, where they lived precariously till they were either able to get to some friendly place, or till the act of oblivion of September, 1822, allowed them to return to their houses.

The fortune of Chile was thus delivered from the dangers arising from that powerful and active family. The father had died shortly after the execution of his other two sons, and now the last and greatest of his house was gone. Of those bearing the same name, Don Carlos, a quiet citizen, lived at his farm at Viña a la Mar, near Valparaiso, without meddling in politics, and of his three sons, one only survived, whose low habits and mean mind seemed to secure him from either doing or experiencing evil. Of the other two, one had perished early in the revolution, and the other had been killed in an insurrection at Juan Fernandez, whither he had been banished.

The tranquillity of the state was still farther secured by the total overthrow of Benevidies, in the month of December. This man was the son of the inspector of the prison of Quirihue of Con-

ception, and had been a foot soldier in the first army of the patriots; having been made prisoner by the royalists, he entered their army, and was taken soon after by Makenna, who sent him to head-quarters on the banks of the Maule, to be tried as a deserter: thence he escaped, by setting fire to the hut in which he was confined, and returned to the royalists, when he soon distinguished himself by his talents, and bore an honourable rank in the army of Osorio at the battle of Maypù. There he was again taken prisoner, and was condemned to death as a deserter, in company with many others: he fell among the dead, but did not die as was supposed; and in a romantic way he sent to request an interview with San Martin, who appointed to meet him in the *plaça* alone, and the signal of recognition to be three sparks from the mechero. * Benevideis struck the signal, San Martin presented his pistol in return; Benevideis put it aside, and observing him start, assured him, he did not wish to murder, but to serve him, which he could do effectually by his local knowledge of the southern provinces, and his personal acquaintance with the troops there. San Martin accepted his services, but retained the dread of him, which his sudden and ghastly appearance before him had excited; and therefore, although there was not the slightest ground for supposing he meant to betray him, he began to suspect him, and attempted to seize his person once more. But the spirit of Benevideis revolted at this: being accused of treachery he turned traitor, if it can be called so, and openly joined Osorio; animated by a fierce desire of revenge, which, once awaked, never slept in his bosom. Hence arose the cruelties, and they are monstrous, with which he is charged. He murdered his prisoners in cold blood; and his great delight was to invite the captured officers to an elegant entertainment, and after they had eaten and drunk, march them into his court-yard, while he stood at the window to see them shot. Some to whom he had promised safety he delivered over to the Indians, whose cruel customs

* The *mechero* is the aparatus for striking fire to light the segars, which every person in Chile carries with him.

with regard to prisoners of war he well knew; and they were horribly murdered. When General Prieto wrote to inform him of the fall of Lima, and the hopelessness of his further perseverance in warfare, he answered, that he would "struggle against Chile with his last "soldier, even although it should be acknowledged by the king and "the nation." He fitted out a privateer to cruize against every flag, and so to provide himself with food and ammunition; and at length, on the 1st of February, 1822, finding he could hold out no longer, he attempted to escape to some of the Spanish ports in a small boat, but being obliged to put into Topocalma for water, he was recognised, seized, and sent to Santiago, where, on the 21st, he was tried and sentenced to death.

On the 23d he was dragged from prison, tied to the tail of a mule, and then hanged in the palace square: his head and hands were cut off, to be exposed in the towns he had ravaged in the south, and such indignities offered to his remains as appeared more like the revenge of savages than the punishment of a just government in the nineteenth century.

However, though the director gave way to this execution, he forbid any of the followers of Benevideis to be punished with death, as the continental part of Chile was now free from enemies; and there only remained the troops under Quintanilla, who still held out in Chiloe.

It is difficult to imagine on what grounds a report was spread about this time, that when Lord Cochrane sailed in pursuit of the enemy's frigates towards the northern ports, he would never return to Chile.* Possibly it might arise from the knowledge of the dreadful state of his ships, in which no other commander would probably have ventured to sea; and that some hoped, while many dreaded, that they would never again be heard of. However that may be, San Martin made use of the period of his absence to endeavour to ruin him in

* Judging by themselves, the propagators of the reports pretended to imagine, that having sent his family home in order that his children might be educated in England, the admiral meant to seize on such Spanish property on the coast as would enrich him, and so render him careless of the country he had engaged to serve. But they little knew him.

the opinion of the government of Chile; and sent his worthy deputies, Colonel Paroissien (who owed every thing to Lord Cochrane) and Garcia del Rio, to Chile, with a string of accusations, some of them of the most ridiculous nature, and others, though of a deeper colour, equally false and impossible with regard to His Lordship. Cowardice, cruelty, and treachery, the vices of his own character, San Martin did not venture to impute to him, so he charged him with dishonesty and avarice; and adduced as proofs, the demands His Lordship had made in behalf of the seamen of the squadron, and for supplies to the ships.* But the government did not appear to believe the charges, though the dread of coming to hostilities with San Martin kept them quiet for the present. Documents, in fact, existed in the public offices at Santiago which disproved the whole of the direct charges against the Admiral. But the latter part of the memorial presented by Paroissien and Del Rio, calling on the Director to inflict condign punishment on Lord Cochrane for slights offered to the honour and dignity of the Protector of Peru, lets us into the whole secret of His Excellency's motives in attacking one whom the people had called *brave* and *generous*, while San Martin was named only the *fortunate*.

Meantime the squadron had proceeded to Guayaquil; and, notwithstanding the usual opinion, that the river was dangerous, or rather not navigable for large ships, unless they landed their guns at the entrance, the admiral himself piloted the O'Higgins up to the town, and astonished the inhabitants by appearing abreast of their forts on the 18th of October, along with the Independencia, Valdivia, Araucano, San Fernando, and Mercedes. They were extremely well received, and exchanged salutes with the forts. †

Lord Cochrane then proceeded to repair and refit his ships, for which purpose there could not have been a properer place. Timber

* These accusations were industriously circulated at Valparaiso, with some diversity in the copies suited to the persons to whom they were shown. I have seen two varieties.

† ¼ less 4 was the shallowest water going up. The squadron found seven gun-boats and seven merchantmen in the harbour.

of all kinds abounds there, and there were many excellent artificers. The government countenanced and encouraged all his proceedings. Public entertainments were given by both parties, and the most friendly intercourse was kept up.

The expenses of all the repairs, as well as of revictualling the ships, were defrayed by His Lordship, out of money that he had on board belonging to himself and the squadron: they willingly applied it in that way, trusting to be reimbursed by the government of Chile; and they were too eager to accomplish their object of lowering the last Spanish flags flying in the Pacific to brook any delay.

The artificers wrought so diligently, that by the 20th of November the ships were ready for sea. On Lord Cochrane's departure, the people of Guayaquil complimented him with a poem in his honour, illuminated with gold letters, and placed under a glass in an ebony frame. His Lordship returned the compliment by an address to the people of Guayaquil, which is as follows: —

" *To the worthy and independent Inhabitants of Guayaquil.*

" The reception that the squadron of Chile has met with from you, not only shows the generous sentiments of your hearts, but proves, if such proof were necessary, that a people capable of asserting its independence in spite of arbitrary power, must always possess noble and exalted feelings. Believe me, that the state of Chile will be for ever grateful for your assistance; and more particularly the Supreme Director, by whose exertions the squadron was created, and to whom, in fact, South America owes whatever benefit she may have derived from it.

" May you be as free as you are independent! and may you be as independent as you deserve to be free! With the liberty of the press, which is now protected by your enlightened government, which has derived its extensive knowledge from that fount, Guayaquil can never be enslaved.

"Observe the difference that a year of independence has produced in public opinion. In those whom you then looked upon as enemies you have discovered your truest friends; and those that were esteemed friends have proved to be your enemies. Remember the ideas that were received a short time since, concerning commerce and manufactures; and compare them with the just and liberal notions you now entertain on these matters. Did you not, accustomed to the blind habits of Spanish monopoly, believe, that it would be a robbery to Guayaquil if her commerce were not limited to her own merchants? Were not all strangers forbidden by restrictive laws from attending to their own business or interests, as if they had come only for your benefit? and you kept officers, seamen, and ships, for your own commerce, without needing that of other nations. Now you perceive the truth; and an enlightened government is ready not only to follow the public opinion in the promotion of your riches, happiness, and strength, but to assist it by the glorious privilege of disseminating, by means of the press, the just opinions of great and wise men on political matters, without fear of the Inquisition, the stake, or the faggot.

"It is very gratifying to me to observe the change that has taken place in your ideas concerning political œconomy, and to see that you can appreciate and despise as it deserves the clamour of the few that still perhaps desire to interrupt the general prosperity, although I cannot believe that any inhabitant of Guayaquil can be capable of placing his private interest in competition with the public good. However, if such a one do exist, let us ask that monopolist, if his particular profit is superior to that of the community, and if commerce, agriculture, and manufactures are to be paralysed for him?

"Enlightened Guayaquilenos! cause your public press to declare the consequences of monopoly, and affix your names to the defence of your system: demonstrate that if the province of Guayaquil contains 80,000 inhabitants, and that eighty of those are privileged merchants, the effects of the monopoly bear upon 9999 persons out of 10,000, because the cottons, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, timber,

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and all the various productions of this beautiful and rich province, cultivated by the 9999, must ultimately come to the hands of the monopolist as the only purchaser of what they have to sell, and the only seller of all they must necessarily buy! Show that the inevitable consequence of the want of competition will be, that he will buy (and let him deny it if he can) the produce of the country at the lowest possible rate, and he will sell his merchandise to his 9999 fellow-citizens as dear as possible; so that not only will his 9999 countrymen be injured, but the lands will remain waste, the manufactures without workmen, and the inhabitants of the province will be lazy and poor from the want of a sufficient stimulus. Teach that it is a law of nature, that 'no man will labour solely for the gain of another.'

"Tell the monopolist that the method of acquiring general riches, political power, and even his own private advantage, is to sell the produce of the country as high, and foreign goods as low as possible; and that the only road to effect this truly desirable end is, to permit a public competition. Let the supercargoes, masters, and agents of the ships that wish to come, be permitted to introduce and sell their goods to the best advantage; let the merchants who bring capital, or those who practise any art or handicraft, be permitted to settle freely, and thus a competition will be formed which will give to every one of the 9999 foreign articles at the lowest price, and will sell the produce of this province at the very highest which the market demanding it will allow.

"Then the land and fixed property will be worth four times as much as it is now; then the fine buildings on the banks of the river will have their magazines full of the richest foreign and domestic productions, instead of being the deposits of comparative poverty, and the receptacles of filth and crime; then all will be activity and energy, because the reward will be in proportion to the labour.

"Commerce being so facilitated, your spacious river will be filled with ships of all nations; your noble docks will display a line of vessels building or repairing, either belonging to yourselves, or to

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the neighbouring friendly provinces and kingdoms. Both building and repairing will be done for a fourth of what they cost now, from the facility afforded by machinery, which till this time you have never employed at all. Then will the monopolist be degraded and shamed. Then he who thinks he knows all things, ignorant that he knows nothing, will humble himself before his Creator, and bless the day in which Omnipotence permitted the veil of obscurity which so long hid the truth from your eyes under the despotism of Spain, the abominable tyranny of the Inquisition, and the want of the liberty of the press, which your government has now secured to you for the instruction and happiness of the public, to be torn aside.

" Let the duties be as moderate as the government seems inclined to make them, in order to promote the greatest possible consumption of foreign and domestic goods for the convenience and the luxury of the town; then smuggling will cease, and the returns to the treasury will increase; and let every man be permitted to do as he pleases in his own property, views, and interests, because every individual will watch over his own with more zeal than senates, ministers, or kings. Set an example by your enlarged views to the New World; and thus, as Guayaquil is by its situation the *Central Republic*, so it will become the centre of the agriculture, commerce, and riches of this portion of the globe.

" Guayaquilenos! the liberality of your sentiments, and the justice of your opinions and acts, are a bulwark to your independence and liberty, more secure than armies and squadrons can afford.

" That you may pursue the road that will render you as free and happy as the territory you possess is fertile and may be productive, is the sincere wish of your obliged friend and servant,

" COCHRANE."

I have translated this paper to show the spirit in which Lord Cochrane dealt with the South American provinces. No petty intrigues, or bargaining for power or personal advantages, which, situated as he was, he might have commanded to any extent; but contenting

himself with the advantages to be fairly derived from the service he had engaged in, he did his utmost to enlighten the countries he protected, and to teach them the principles of rational freedom.

I have now to relate his expedition to Acapulco, which will bring the affairs of Chile and its squadron up to the date of my arrival at Valparaiso, when the rest, to the beginning of 1823, will be given in the course of the Journal.

Although the squadron left Guayaquil on the 20th November, it was the 3d of December before it sailed from the river. The necessity for getting speedily to sea in pursuit of the enemy's frigates had, of course, precluded more than a temporary repair of the vessels, and I find a notice in the log-book of the O'Higgins, that her leak made three inches of water per hour. On the 5th, the admiral continued on his way, however, coasting the land and examining every port and bay for the objects of his search. On the 19th, the ships anchored in the bay of Fonseca to procure water, and to repair the pumps of the O'Higgins, which were by this time worn out by constant use.

The water first discovered proving too brackish for use, the boats were despatched in search of springs, and, on the 21st, they discovered good water eight miles from the first anchorage; on the 25th the ships removed thither, calling the place Christmas Bay. They set about burning the woods to make a road to the water, and got it both abundant and good. Meantime the O'Higgins had got two new pumps prepared, but the water had risen to such a height in the hold, that the people were baling at all the hatchways; and though by the 26th her pumps were refitted, the after-hold and bread-room were obliged to be cleared, and the provisions were stowed in the hammock nettings. During all this time of difficulty and distress, the admiral was first in all exertions to relieve the ship and people, and the last in every thing like self-accommodation. On one occasion, when every body had given up all for lost, and the carpenter at length, with tears, declared he could do no more, Lord Cochrane took his place, laboured himself till the pumps were brought

to act, and inspired courage and spirit that brought about the means of safety. But the crew were so exhausted with their incessant labour of pumping and baling, that thirty men were borrowed from the Valdivia, and twenty from the Independencia, to assist at the pumps; and having at length cleared the ship, on the 28th the squadron left Fonseca bay.

On the 6th January, 1822, Lord Cochrane put into the bay of Tehuantepec * for water, where, not far in-land, he observed five remarkable volcanoes: the district around is said to be fertile, and the town of that name has a tolerable harbour, which, however, has the inconvenience of a bar across the entrance.

On the 15th they hove-to again off a white island, where they found plenty of fresh water; and having refreshed and watered, pursued their voyage on the 19th, and on the 29th anchored at Acapulco. This town, which owes all the celebrity it ever had to the rich Manilla fleets and Spanish galleons which used to anchor in its harbour, which is spacious and safe, is now little better than a mean village. It has a castle, however; a parish church, and two convents. Its permanent inhabitants are about 4000, which number is doubled on the arrival of the now only annual ship from Manilla. At that time a great fair is held, when the inhabitants of the country round assemble, and remain some weeks at Acapulco for the purposes of trade. But they return to their homes as soon as possible, to escape from the fever which is peculiar to the place. The climate is hot, damp, and unhealthy, notwithstanding the admission of the free air through the famous *abra de San Nicolas*, a passage opened through a mountain for the purpose. After procuring some provisions, the squadron left it on the 3d February, disgusted with the insolence, and, at the same

* Tehuantepec, taken by the Buccaneers, 1687. There were only 180 of them; they marched 12 miles over-land; took the city, which had a population of 6000 Spaniards and 40,000 negroes and Indians, well fortified, and an abbey also very strong. The Buccaneers took the market-place, with the cannon of the walls; carried the abbey, sword in hand; kept possession and plundered for three days; and then retired in good order to the ships.

time, the meanness of the governor; and having ascertained that the two frigates had sailed for Guayaquil.

Lord Cochrane therefore began his voyage southward, which was incomparably more irksome than that to the northward had been; for, in addition to the frequent and sudden gusts of wind on that coast, the water was so scarce that they had to watch the thunder showers and catch the rain as it fell in sails; and this was all they had for the ships' companies. Captain Crosbie told me he had often sat in the quarter-boat with his wide hat on, to catch a good drink in the brim of it, when it was so hot that a draught of cold water was thought of as the highest luxury. All this time the leak in the O'Higgins rather increased than lessened; and, to aggravate their misfortunes, on the 10th the Valdivia discovered a most dangerous leak under her fore-chains, and began to make three feet water per hour. On the 13th they thrummed a sail and passed it under her; but the weather being boisterous, they found it impeded their course, and on the 16th took off the sail and frapping.

The Independencia being in good repair was ordered to remain on this coast, to survey and also to watch the Spanish vessels that might be hovering there. She put into the bay of San Jose for the purpose of watering, salting beef, and making candles; after which she proceeded with her survey, and did not arrive at Valparaiso till the 29th of June.

In the meantime one of her lieutenants, two of her marines, and two seamen, had been murdered on shore.

Lord Cochrane stopped in the bay of Tacames, near the river Esmeralda, for provisions, and then proceeded, in company with the Esmeralda, to Guayaquil, where a decided change in the temper of the government had taken place. The agents of San Martin had arrived; and, partly by bribes, partly by threats, had brought the governor over to their master's interest, and had excited a jealousy of Lord Cochrane, which, though his activity and spirit might have justified, his experience of his character and conduct ought to have allayed. Some attempts were made to annoy, and some to intimidate His Lord-

ship; but he sailed up to the forts, anchored abreast of them as before, and awed them into decency, if not civility. The Venganza he found at Guayaquil; and certainly had a right to consider her as his lawful prize, having chased her from every other place, and forced her into that port in such a state as to be obliged to surrender; and the Prueba in the same state had gone to Callao. But the agents of Peru had tampered with the commanders of both the Venganza and Prueba; they promised them lands and pensions in Peru, if they would give up the ships to that government, which they accordingly did. So that San Martin thus tricked Chile of the prizes that belonged to her squadron, and induced the captains of the Spanish frigates to sell the ships to which they were appointed by their government. However, Lord Cochrane, determined not to embroil the country he served in any thing like hostilities with its neighbours, sent Captain Crosbie on board the Venganza to take the command for Chile and Peru jointly; and on the representation of the government of Guayaquil, left that frigate in the port under Guayaquil colours, taking a bond that she should not be given up to any other government whatever, without the express consent of Chile, under a penalty of 8,000 dollars. But these South American governments seem to laugh at contracts. This was shortly broken, and the penalty has never been paid; so that the officers and men of the squadron, which pursued them at their own expense, having paid for the repairs, stores, and provisions necessary to enable them to do so, have not only never received the prize-money due for the taking of those ships, but have literally been defrauded of the sums they spent in their pursuit. The causes and consequences of this public dishonesty will appear from some facts which will be hereafter stated.

The squadron put in at Guambacho, a little bay south of Guayaquil, to afford the Valdivia an opportunity of careening. She accordingly repaired the larboard leak, which was the worst, and managed to keep tolerably clear with the pumps, of the water made by the starboard one. The ships then proceeded; and on the 25th of April

the O'Higgins and Valdivia reached Callao *, where they remained until the 8th of May. On their arrival, San Martin made every possible effort to get Lord Cochrane into his power, but without effect. Monteagudo went on board to wait on His Lordship. He assured him of San Martin's high regard for him, entreated him to go ashore, and that the minister, Torre Tagle, had prepared his own house for his reception. He proposed that Lord Cochrane should take upon him the title of admiral of the joint squadrons of Peru and Chile; which was only another means of getting possession of the Chileno ships. He held out to him the prospect of making an immense fortune by the taking of the Philippine Islands, which San Martin contemplated; and, among other bribes, fitted well enough indeed to the semi-barbarous taste of his employer, he talked to Lord Cochrane of a diamond star of the Order of Merit which had been prepared for him, and which, as well as a kind letter from San Martin, had been withheld on the receipt of a letter which he had addressed the day before, which was that of his arrival, to the minister of war. Lord Cochrane's answer to all this was — That he could not and would not accept office, title, or honours, from a government founded on the breach of that faith which had promised the free choice of its constitution to the people of Peru, and which was supported by tyranny, oppression, and the violation of all laws: that he would hoist no flag but that of Chile on board of her ships; nor would he hoist his on board the Prueba, because he would not deceive the government of Peru. He thanked Torre Tagle for the offer of his house; but had resolved never to set foot in a land governed not only without law, but contrary to law. And that as to fortune, his habits were frugal and his means sufficient.

I have been the more particular in the account of this conference, because it took place on the 26th of April, six weeks after Garcia del

* When the Honourable Captain F. Spencer, of His Majesty's ship Alacrity, saluted Lord Cochrane's flag, His Lordship it is said was unable to return the compliment till next day, his guns being shotted, as it was not safe to be in Callao without precaution.

Rio and Paroissien had laid their file of accusations against Lord Cochrane before the government of Chile, and had demanded signal vengeance on him in their employer's name. It sets the character and conduct of San Martin in a light so odious as to gain full credit to the idea, that he was the instigator of two attempts to assassinate the admiral about this time, made by persons who contrived to get on board the ship by stealth. One of these was an Englishman, who had been for some time confined in the prison at Callao for murder of an atrocious kind, and who was suddenly liberated, no one knew how or why. This wretch, on being detected lurking about the ship, could give no account of himself or his business; and it was only known that he was protected by San Martin. That Monteagudo should be the willing agent in a scheme for trepanning Lord Cochrane for the purpose of destroying him, no one who knows his character can doubt; and that both he and San Martin should use courteous promises to lure him ashore for the better and surer accomplishment of their vengeance, those will believe who remember the fate of the prisoners of war who carried letters of recommendation to the governor of San Luis, desiring they might be treated with every courtesy and distinction, and feasted three or four days; but that care was to be taken they did not pass a certain wood; and in that wood several, one of whom was Col. Rodrigues, have disappeared, nor ever have they been heard of since.

Lord Cochrane remained before Callao until the 9th of May: he claimed, though in vain, the arrears of pay and prize-money due by the Peruvian government to the Chileno fleet, and such stores and provisions as were necessary. — The fear that possessed San Martin during the time of the admiral's stay was ludicrous. He caused the Prueba to be surrounded with booms and chains. Men were so crowded into her that she could scarcely contain them every night, and every thing was done to prevent a fate similar to that of the Esmeralda; but His Lordship is said to have sent word he did not mean to take her, otherwise he would do it in spite of all precautions, and that in midday too.

On the 2d of June Lord Cochrane brought the O'Higgins and Valdivia to Valparaiso. On the 4th, the following letters of thanks and congratulation were addressed to him and the officers of the squadron by the supreme government at Santiago; and every thing appeared as favourable to the interests of the squadron as they could wish.

" Ministry of Marine,
" Santiago de Chile, 4th June, 1822.

" MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

" The arrival of Your Excellency in the city of Valparaiso with the squadron under your command, has given the greatest pleasure to His Excellency the supreme director; and in those feelings of gratitude which the glory acquired by Your Excellency during the late protracted campaign has excited, you will find the proof of that high consideration which your heroic services so justly deserve.

" Among those who have a distinguished claim are the chiefs and officers, who, faithful to their duty, have remained on board the vessels of war of this State, a list of whom Your Excellency has honoured me by enclosing. These gentlemen will, most assuredly, receive the recompense so justly due to their praiseworthy constancy.

" Please to accept the assurance of my highest esteem.

" JOAQUIM DE ECHEVERRIA.

" To His Excellency the Vice Admiral and Commander-
" in-chief of the Squadron, the Right Honourable
" the Lord Cochrane."

" Ministry of Marine,
" Santiago de Chile, 19th June, 1822.

" MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

" His Excellency the Supreme Director, being desirous of making a public demonstration of the high services that the squadron has rendered to the nation, has resolved, that a medal be struck for the officers and crews of the squadron, with an inscription expressive of

the national gratitude towards the worthy supporters of its maritime power.

" I have the honour to communicate this to Your Excellency by supreme command, and to offer you my highest respect.

(Signed) " JOAQUIM DE ECHEVERRIA.

" To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Lord Cochrane,
" Vice Admiral and Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c."

Lord Cochrane had now been two years and a half at the head of the naval force of Chile; he had taken, destroyed, or forced to surrender every Spanish vessel in the Pacific; he had cleared the western coast of South America of pirates. He had reduced the most important fortresses of the common enemy of the patriots, either by storm, or by blockade; he had protected the commerce, both of the native and neutral powers; and had added lustre even to the cause of independence, by exploits worthy of his own great name, and a firmness and humanity which had as yet been wanting in the noble struggle for freedom.

JOURNAL.

His Majesty's ship Doris, Valparaiso harbour, Sunday night, April 28th, 1822.—Many days have passed, and I have been unable and unwilling to resume my journal. To-day the newness of the place, and all the other circumstances of our arrival, have drawn my thoughts to take some interest in the things around me. I can conceive nothing more glorious than the sight of the Andes this morning on approaching the land at day-break; starting, as it were, from the ocean itself, their summits of eternal snow shone in all the majesty of light long before the lower earth was illuminated, when suddenly the sun appeared from behind them and they were lost; and we sailed on for hours before we descried the land.

On anchoring here to-day, the first object I saw was the Chile State's brig Galvarino, formerly the British brig of war Hecate,

the first ship my husband ever commanded, and in which I sailed with him in the Eastern Indian seas. Twelve years have since passed away!

We found His Majesty's ship Blossom here. Her commander, Captain Vernon, will, I believe, take the command of this ship to-morrow.

The United States' ships Franklin and Constellation are also here. As soon as Commodore Stewart saw the Doris approach the harbour with her colours half-mast high, he came to offer every assistance and accommodation the ship might require; and hearing that I was on board he returned, bringing Mrs. Stewart to call on me, and to offer me a cabin in the Franklin, in case I preferred it to remaining here, until I could procure a room on shore.

Monday, 29th.—This has been a day of trial. Early in the morning the new captain's servants came on board to prepare the cabin for their master's reception. I believe, what must be done is better done at once. Soon after breakfast, Captain Ridgely, of the United Sates' ship Constellation, brought Mrs. and Miss Hogan, the wife and daughter of the American consul, to call and to offer all the assistance in their power; and told me, that the Commodore had delayed the sailing of his frigate, the Constellation, in order that she might carry letters from the Doris round Cape Horn, and would delay it still farther if I wished to avail myself of the opportunity to return home immediately. I was grateful, but declined the offer. I feel that I have neither health nor spirits for such a voyage just yet.

Immediately afterwards, Don Jose Ignacio Zenteno, the governor of Valparaiso, with two other officers, came on board on a visit of humanity as well as respect. He told me that he had appointed a spot within the fortress where I may "bury my dead out of my sight," with such ceremonies and honours as our church and service demand, and has promised the attendance of soldiers, &c. All this is kind, and it is liberal.

At four o'clock I received notice that Mrs. Campbell, a Spanish lady, the wife of an English merchant, would receive me into her

house until I could find a lodging, and I left the ship shortly afterwards.

I hardly know how I left it, or how I passed over the deck where one little year ago I had been welcomed with such different prospects and feelings.

I have now been two hours ashore. Mrs. Campbell kindly allows me the liberty of being alone, which is kinder than any other kindness she could show.

April 30th.—This afternoon I stood at my window, looking over the bay. The captain's barge, of the Doris, brought ashore the remains of my indulgent friend, companion, and husband. There were all his own people, and those of the Blossom and of the American ships, and their flags joined and mingled with those of England and of Chile; and their musicians played together the hymns fit for the burial of the pure in heart; and the procession was long, and joined by many who thought of those far off, and perhaps now no more; and by many from respect to our country: and I believe, indeed I know, that all was done that the pious feelings of our nature towards the departed demand; and if such things could soothe such a grief as mine they were not wanting.

But my mind has bowed before him in whose hand are the issues of life and death. And I know that I cannot stay long behind, though my life were lengthened to the utmost bounds of human being. And I trust, that when I am called to another state of existence, I may be able to say, "Oh Death, where is thy sting? "Oh Grave, where is thy victory?"

May 6th.—I have been very unwell; meantime my friends have procured a small house for me at some distance from the port, and I am preparing to remove to it.

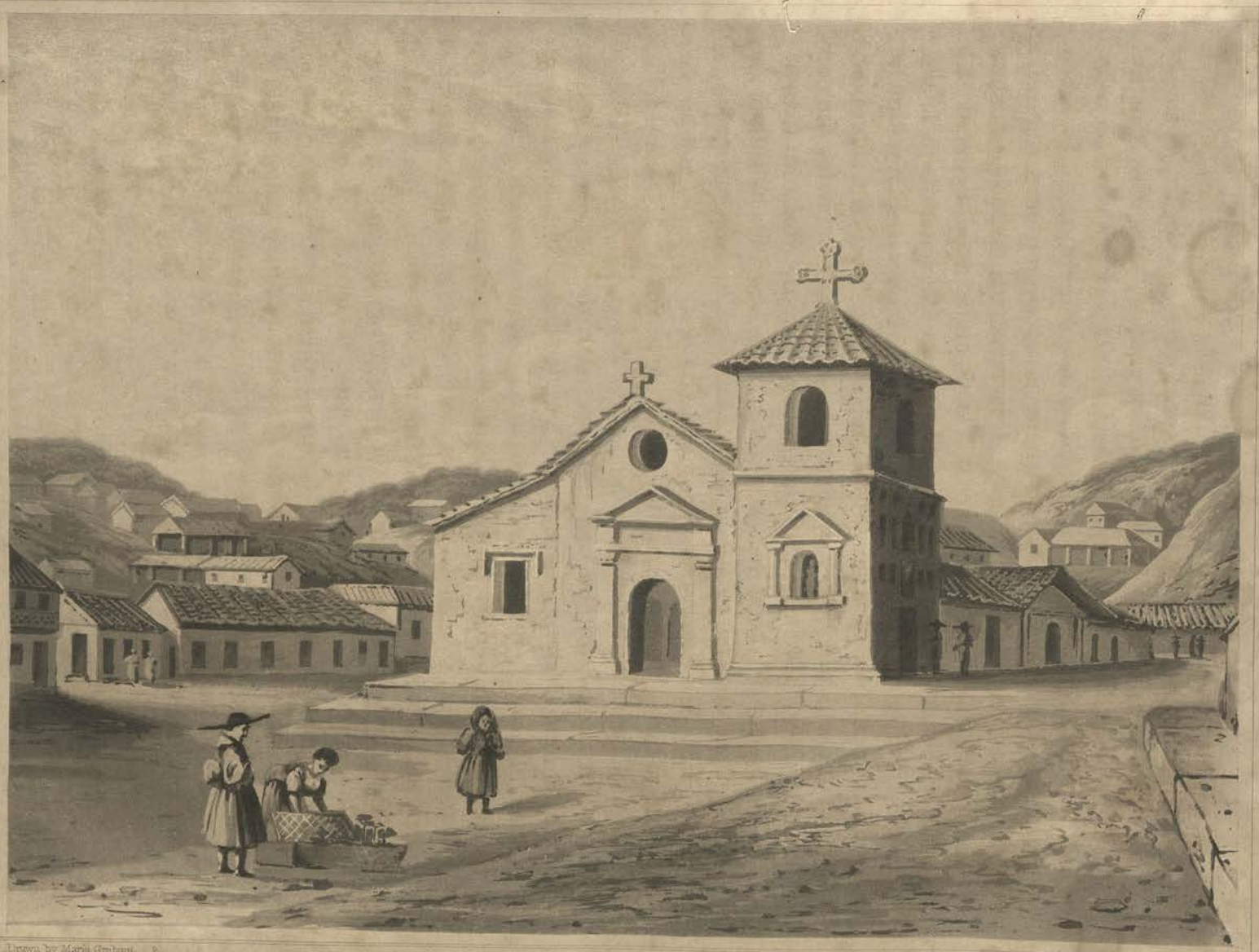
9th of May, 1822.—I took possession of my cottage at Valparaiso; and felt indescribable relief in being quiet and alone.

By going backwards and forwards twice between Mr. Campbell's and my own house, I have seen all that is to be seen of the exterior of the town of Valparaiso. It is a long straggling place, built at the

foot of steep rocks which overhang the sea, and advance so close to it in some places as barely to leave room for a narrow street, and open in others, so as to admit of two middling squares, one of which is the market-place, and has on one side the governor's house, which is backed by a little fort crowning a low hill. The other square is dignified by the *Iglesia Matriz*, which, as there is no bishop here, stands in place of a cathedral. From these squares several ravines or quebradas branch off; these are filled with houses, and contain, I should imagine, the bulk of the population, which I am told amounts to 15,000 souls; further on there is the arsenal, where there are a few slips for building boats, and conveniences for repairing vessels; but all appearing poor; and still farther is the outer fort, which terminates the port on that side. To the east of the governor's house, the town extends half a quarter of a mile or a little more, and then joins its suburb the Almendral, situated on a flat, sandy, but fertile plain, which the receding hills leave between them and the sea. The Almendral extends to three miles in length, but is very narrow; the houses, like most of those in the town, are of one story. They are all built of unburnt bricks, whitewashed and covered with red tiles; there are two churches, one of the Merced *, rather handsome, and two convents, besides the hospital, which is a religious foundation. The Almendral is full of olive groves, and of almond gardens, whence it has its name; but, though far the pleasantest part of the town, it is not believed to be safe to live in it, lest one should be robbed or murdered, so that my taking a cottage at the very end of it is rather wondered at than approved. But I feel very safe, because I believe no one robs or kills without temptation or provocation; and as I have nothing to tempt thieves, so I am determined not to provoke murderers.

My house is one of the better kind of really Chilian cottages. It consists of a little entrance-hall, and a large sittingroom 16 feet square, at one end of which a door opens into a little dark bedroom,

* The royal, religious, and military order of the Merced was instituted by the king Don Jayme el *Conquistador*, for the purpose of redeeming captives.



Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

IGLESIA MATRIZ, VALPARAISO.

and a door in the hall opens into another a little less. This is the body of the house, in front of which, looking to the south-west, there is a broad veranda. Adjoining, there is a servants' room, and at a little distance the kitchen. My landlord, who deals in horses, has stables for them and his oxen, and several small cottages for his peons and their families, besides storehouses all around. There is a garden in front of the house, which slopes down towards the little river that divides me from the Almendral, stored with apples, pears, almonds, peaches, grapes, oranges, olives, and quinces, besides pumpkins, melons, cabbages, potatoes, French beans, and maize, and a few flowers; and behind the house the barest reddest hill in the neighbourhood rises pretty abruptly. It affords earth for numerous beautiful shrubs, and is worn in places by the constant tread of the mules, who bring firewood, charcoal, and vegetables, to the Valparaiso market. The interior of the house is clean, the walls are whitewashed, and the roof is planked, for stucco ceilings would not stand the frequent earthquakes, of which we had one pretty smart shock to-night. No Valparaiso native house of the middling class boasts more than one window, and that is not glazed, but generally secured by carved wooden or iron lattice-work; this is, of course, in the public sitting-room; so that the bedrooms are perfectly dark: I am considered fortunate in having doors to mine, but there is none between the hall and sittingroom, so I have made bold to hang up a curtain, to the wonder of my landlady, who cannot understand my finding no amusement in watching the motions of the servants or visitors who may be in the outer room.

May 10*th.*—Thanks to my friends both ashore and in the frigate, I am now pretty comfortably settled in my little *home.* Every body has been kind; one neighbour lends me a horse, another such furniture as I require: nation and habits make no difference. I arrived here in need of kindness, and I have received it from all.

I have great comfort in strolling on the hill behind my house; it commands a lovely view of the port and neighbouring hills. It is totally uncultivated, and in the best season can afford but poor

browsing for mules or horses. Now most of the shrubs are leafless, and it is totally without grass. But the milky tribe of trees and shrubs are still green enough to please the eye. A few of them, as the lobelia, retain here and there an orange or a crimson flower; and there are several sorts of parasitic plants, whose exquisitely beautiful blossoms adorn the naked branches of the deciduous shrubs, and whose bright green leaves, and vivid red and yellow blossoms shame the sober grey of the neighbouring olives, whose fruit is now ripening. The red soil of my hill is crossed here and there by great ridges of white half marble, half sparry stone; and all its sides bear deep marks of winter torrents; in the beds of these I have found pieces of green stone of a soft soapy appearance, and lumps of quartz and coarse granite. One of these water-courses was once worked for gold, but the quantity found was so inconsiderable, that the proprietor was glad to quit the precarious adventure, and to cultivate the CHACRA or garden-ground which joins to mine, and whose produce has been much more beneficial to his family.

I went to walk in that garden, and found there, besides the fruits common to my own, figs, lemons, and pomegranates, and the hedges full of white cluster roses. The mistress of the house is a near relation of my landlady, and takes in washing, but that by no means implies that either her rank or her pretensions are as low as those of an European washerwoman. Her mother was possessed of no less than eight chacras; but as she is ninety years old, that must have been a hundred years ago, when Valparaiso was by no means so large a place, and consequently chacras were less valuable. However, she was a great proprietor of land; but, as is usual here, most of it went to portion off a large family of daughters, and some I am afraid to pay the expenses of the gold found on the estate.

The old lady, seeing me in the garden, courteously invited me to walk in. The veranda in front of the house is like my own, paved with bricks nine inches square, and supported by rude wooden pillars, which the Chileno architects fancy they have carved handsomely; I found under it two of the most beautiful boys I ever saw,

and a very pretty young woman the grandchildren of the old lady. They all got up from the bench eager to receive me, and show me kindness. One of the boys ran to fetch his mother, the other went to gather a bunch of roses for me, and the daughter Joanita, taking me into the house gave me some beautiful carnations. From the garden we entered immediately into the common sittingroom, where, according to custom, one low latticed window afforded but a scanty light. By the window, a long bench covered with a sort of coarse Turkey carpet made here, runs nearly the length of the room, and before this a wooden platform, called the *estrada*, raised about six inches from the ground, and about five feet broad, is covered with the same sort of carpet, the rest of the floor being bare brick. A row of high-backed chairs occupies the opposite side of the room. On a table in a corner, under a glass case, I saw a little religious baby work, — a waxen Jesus an inch long, sprawls on a waxen Virgin's knee, surrounded by Joseph, the oxen and asses, all of the same goodly material, decorated with moss and sea shells. Near this I observed a pot of beautiful flowers, and two pretty-shaped silver utensils, which I at first took for implements of worship, and then for inkstands, but I discovered that one was a little censer for burning pastile, with which the young women perfume their handkerchiefs and mantos, and the other the vase for holding the infusion of the herb of Paraguay, commonly called matte, so universally drank or rather sucked here. The herb appears like dried senna; a small quantity of it is put into the little vase with a proportion of sugar, and sometimes a bit of lemon peel, the water is poured boiling on it, and it is instantly sucked up through a tube about six inches long. This is the great luxury of the Chilenos, both male and female. The first thing in the morning is a matte, and the first thing after the afternoon siesta is a matte. I have not yet tasted of it, and do not much relish the idea of using the same tube with a dozen other people.

I was much struck with the appearance of my venerable neighbour; although bent with age she has no other sign of infirmity; her walk

is quick and light, and her grey eyes sparkle with intelligence. She wears her silver hair, according to the custom of the country, uncovered, and hanging down behind in one large braid; her linen shift is gathered up pretty high on her bosom, and its sleeves are visible near the wrist: she has a petticoat of white woollen stuff, and her gown of coloured woollen is like a close jacket, with a full-plaited petticoat attached to it, and fastened with double buttons in front. A rosary hangs round her neck, and she always wears the manto or shawl, which others only put on when they go out of doors, or in cold weather. The dress of the granddaughter is not very different from that of a French woman, excepting that the manto supersedes all hats, caps, capotes, and turbans. The young people, whether they fasten up their tresses with combs, or let them hang down, are fond of decorating them with natural flowers, and it is not uncommon to see a rose or a jonquil stuck behind the ear or through the earring.

Having sat some time in the house, I accepted Joanita's proposal to walk in the garden; part of it was already planted with potatoes, and part was ploughing for barley, to be cut as green meat for the cattle. The plough is a very rude implement, suchas the Spaniards brought it hither three hundred years ago; a piece of knee timber, shod at one end with a flat plate of iron, is the plough, into which a long pole is fixed by means of wedges; the pole is made fast to the yoke of the oxen, who drag it over the ground so as to do little more than scratch the surface.* As to a harrow, I have not seen or heard of one. The usual substitute for it being a bundle of fresh branches, which is dragged by a horse or ox, and if not heavy enough, stones, or the weight of a man or two, is added. The pumpkins, lettuces, and cabbages, are attended with more care: ridges being formed for them either with the original wooden spades of the country, or long-handled iron shovels upon the same plan. The

* I recollect a bit of antique mosaic, I think, but am not sure, in the Villa Albani, near Rome, representing just such a plough, and so yoked; the oxen are represented kicking, as if stung by a gadfly.

greatest labour, however, is bestowed on irrigating the gardens which is rendered indispensable by the eight months of dry weather in the summer. A multitude of little canals cross every field, and the hours for letting the water into them are regulated with reference to the convenience of the neighbours, through whose grounds the common stream passes. One part of every chacra is an arboleda, or orchard, however small, and few are without their little flower plot, where most of the common garden flowers of England are cultivated. The lupine both perennial and annual is native here. The native bulbous roots surpass most of ours in beauty, yet the strangers are treated with unjust preference. Roses, sweetpeas, carnations, and jasmine are deservedly prized; mignonette and sweetbriar are scarce, and honeysuckle is not to be procured. The scabious is called here the widow's flower, and the children gathered their hands full of it for me.

From the flower-garden we went to the washing-ground, where I found a charcoal fire lighted on the brink of a pretty rivulet. On the fire was a huge copper vessel full of boiling water, and swimming in it there was a leaf of the prickly pear (*Cactus ficus Indicus*), here called *tunia;* this plant is said to possess the property of cleansing and softening the water. Close by there stood a large earthen vessel, which appeared to me to be full of soap-suds, but I found that no common soap was among it. The tree called Quillai, which is common in this part of Chile, furnishes a thick rough bark, which is so full of soapy matter, that a small piece of it wrapped in wool, moistened, and then beaten between two stones, makes a lather like the finest soap, and possesses a superior cleansing quality. All woollen garments are washed with it, and coloured woollen or silk acquires a freshness of tint equal to new by the use of it. I begged a piece of the dry bark; the inside is speckled with very minute crystals, and the taste is harsh like that of soda.

In my walk home from the washing-ground, I had occasion to see specimens both of the waggons and carriages of Chile. The wheels,

axletree, carriage, all are fastened together without a single nail or piece of iron. The wheels have a double wooden felly, placed so as that the joints in the one are covered by the entire parts of the other, and these are fastened together by strong wooden pins; the rest is all of strong wooden frame-work bound with hide, which being put on green, contracts and hardens as it dries, and makes the most secure of all bands. The flooring of both cart and coach consists of hide; the cart is tilted with canes and straw neatly wattled; the coach is commonly of painted canvass, nailed over a slight frame with seats on the sides, and the entrance behind. The coach is commonly drawn by a mule, though oxen are often used for the purpose; and always for the carts, yoked as for the plough. Oxen will travel hence to Santiago, upwards of ninety miles, with a loaded waggon in three days. These animals are as fine here, as I ever saw them in any part of the world; and the mules particularly good. It is needless to say anything of the horses, whose beauty, temper, and spirit, are unrivalled, notwithstanding their small size.

11*th May.*—This morning, tempted by the exceeding fineness of the weather, and the sweet feeling of the air, I set out to follow the little water-course that irrigates my garden, towards its source. After skirting the hill for about a furlong, always looking down on a fertile valley, and now and then gaining a peep at the bay and shipping between the fruit trees, I heard the sound of falling water, and on turning sharp round the corner of a rock, I found myself in a quebrada, or ravine, full of great blocks of granite, from which a bright plentiful stream had washed the red clay as it leaped down from ledge to ledge, and fell into a little bed of sand glistening with particles of mica that looked like fairy gold. Just at this spot, where myrtle bushes nearly choaked the approach, a wooden trough detained part of the rivulet in its fall, and led it to the course cut in the hill for the benefit of the cultivated lands on this side; the rest of the stream runs to the Santiago road, where meeting several smaller rills, it waters the opposite side of the valley, and finds its way to the

shore, where it oozes through a sand-bank to the sea, close to a little cove filled with fishermen's houses.* On ascending the ravine a little farther, I found at the top of the waterfall, a bed of white marble lying along on the sober grey rock; and beyond it, half concealed by the shrubs, the water formed a thousand little falls —

> " Through bushy brake and wild flowers blossoming,
> And freshness breathing from each silver spring,
> Whose scattered streams from granite basins burst,
> Leap into life, and sparkling woo your thirst."

But this valley, like all those in the immediate neighbourhood of Valparaiso, wants trees. The shrubs, however, are beautiful, and mixed here and there with the Chilian aloe (*Pourretia Coarctata*), and the great torch thistle, which rises to an extraordinary height. Among the humble flowers I remarked varieties of our common garden herbs, carraway, fennel, sage, thyme, mint, rue, wild carrot, and several sorts of sorrel. But it is not yet the season of flowers; here and there only, a solitary fuscia or andromeda was to be found; — but I did not want flowers, —the very feel of the open air, the verdure, the sunshine, were enough; and I doubly enjoyed this my first rural walk after being so long at sea.

Friday, May 17th.—Three days of half fog, half rain, have given notice of the breaking up of the dry season, and my landlord has accordingly sent people to prepare the roof for the coming wet weather. This has given me an opportunity of being initiated in all the mysteries of Chileno masonry, or architecture, or whatever title we may give to the manner of building here. The poorest peasants live in what I conceive to be the original hut of every country, a little less carefully constructed here, where the climate is so fine and the temperature so equal, that, provided the roof is sufficient during the rains, the walls are of little consequence. These huts are made of stakes stuck in the ground, and fastened together with transverse

* This is the only rivulet near Valparaiso: the old maps and travels, therefore, which represent the port as standing at the mouth of a river are wrong. Valparaiso is midway between the mouths of the Acoucagua and of the Maypu.

pieces of wood, either with soga or twine, made from the hemp of the country, with the bark of a water tree not unlike the poplar, or with thongs. Some have only a thick wattled wall of myrtle, or broom; others have the chinks in the wattling filled in with clay, and whitewashed either with lime,—which the natives knew how to prepare from beds of shells found in the country before the invasion of the Spaniards,—or with a kind of white ochre, which is very fine, and is found in pretty large beds in different parts of the country. The roofs are more solidly constructed, having usually over the supporting rafters a layer of branches plaistered with mud, and covered with the leaves of the Palma Tejera, or thatch palm, which abounds in the valleys of Chile. Broom, reeds, and a long fine grass, are also used for roofs. However poor the house, there is always a separate hut for cooking at a little distance.

The better houses, mine for instance, have very solid walls, often four feet thick, of unburnt bricks of about sixteen inches long, ten wide, and four thick. These, like the mortar in which they are bedded, are formed of the common earth, which is all fit for the purpose in this neighbourhood. When a man wishes to build, he digs down a portion of the nearest hill, and waters the loose earth till it acquires the consistence of mortar; a number of peons, or countrymen, then tread it to a proper smoothness and consistency; after which a quantity of chopped straw is added, which is again trodden till it is equally distributed through the mass, which is of course more solid for the bricks. These bricks are formed in a wooden frame, and then placed in the shade to dry, after which they are exposed to the sun to harden. After the walls are built they are generally allowed to stand a short time to settle before the rafters are laid on, and indeed the roof is a formidable weight. A very thick layer of green boughs, leaves and all, is first fastened with twine upon the rafters, whose interstices are pretty closely filled up with canes; a layer of mortar, or rather mud, of at least four inches thick, is spread above that; and in that mud are bedded round tiles, whose ridge rows are cemented with lime-mortar, a thin coat of

which is spread over the coarser plaister, both without and within the houses.

The brick buildings, and such huts as are plaistered within and without over the wattled work, and tiled, are called houses; the others are called, generally, ranchos. The word *rancho* is, however, also applied to the whole group of buildings that form the farm-steading of a Chilian peasant. Every thing here is so far back with regard to the conveniences and improvements of civilised life, that if we did not recollect the state of the Highlands of Scotland seventy years ago, it would be scarcely credible that the country could have been occupied for three centuries by so polished and enlightened a people as the Spaniards undoubtedly were in the sixteenth century, when they first took possession of Chile.

The only articles of dress publicly sold are shoes, or rather slippers, and hats. I do not, of course, mean that no stuffs from Europe or dresses for the higher classes are to be bought; because, since the opening of the port, retail shops for all sorts of European goods are nearly as common at Valparaiso as in any town of the same size in England. But the people of the country are still in the habit of spinning, weaving, dying, and making every article for themselves in their own houses, except hats and shoes. The distaff and spindle, the reel, the loom, particularly the latter, are all of the simplest and grossest construction; and the same loom, made of a few cross sticks, serves to weave the linen shirt or drawers, the woollen jacket and manteau, as well as the alfombra, or carpet, which is spread either on the estrada, or the bed, or the saddle, or carried to church as the Mussulman carries his mat to the mosque to kneel and pray on. The herbs and roots of the country furnish abundance and variety of dyes; and few, if any, families are without one female knowing in the properties of plants, whether for dying or for medicine. The bark of the Quillai is constantly used to clear and bring out the colours.

The dress of the Chilian men resembles that of the peasants of the south of Europe; linen shirts and drawers, cloth waistcoats, jackets, and breeches with a coloured listing at the seams; left unbuttoned at

the knee, and displaying the drawers. In the neighbourhood of Valparaiso trowsers are fast superseding the short breeches, however. White woollen or cotton stockings, and black leather shoes, are worn by the decent class of men: the very lowest seldom wear stockings; and in lieu of shoes they have either wooden clogs or *oxotas*, made of a square piece of hide bent to the foot, and tied in shape while green; the latter are sometimes put over shoes in riding through the woods: the hair is usually braided in one large braid hanging down behind, and a coloured handkerchief is tied over the head, above which a straw hat is fastened with black cord. In some districts black felt hats are used; in others, high caps. When the Chileno rides, which he does on every possible occasion, he uses as a cloak, the poncho, which is the native South American garb: it is a piece of square cloth, with a slit in the centre, just large enough to admit the head, and is peculiarly convenient for riding, as it leaves the arms quite free, while it protects the body completely. A pair of coarse cloth gaiters very loose, drawn far up over the knee, and tied with coloured listing, defend the legs; and a huge pair of spurs, with rowels often three inches in diameter, complete the equipment of an equestrian. These spurs are sometimes of copper, but the true pride of a Chileno is to have the stirrups, and the ornaments of his bridle, of silver. The bridles are usually made of plaited thongs, very neatly wrought; the reins terminate in a bunch of cords also of plaited thongs, which serves as a whip. The bit is simple, but very severe. The saddle is a wooden frame placed over eight or nine folds of cloth, carpet, or sheepskin; and over that frame are thrown other skins, dressed and dyed either blue, brown, or black; above all, the better sort use a well-dressed soft leather saddle-cloth, and the whole is fastened on with a stamped leather band, laced with thongs instead of a buckle. Some go to great expense in their saddle-cloths, carpets, skins, &c.; but the material is in all nearly the same, and a saddled horse looks as if he had a burden of carpets on his back. To the saddle is usually fastened the *laza* or cord of plaited hide, which the Spanish American

colonists on both sides of the Andes throw so dexterously either to catch cattle, or to make prisoners in war. The stirrups appended to these singular-looking saddles are either plain silver stirrups, having silver loops, &c. on the stirrup leathers; or in case of riding through woods on long journeys, a kind of carved box very heavy, and spreading considerably, so as to defend the foot from thorns and branches. Returning from a short walk to-day, I had a good opportunity of seeing a group of horsemen, young and old, who had come from the neighbourhood of Rancagua, a town near the foot of the Andes, to the southward of Santiago, with a cargo of wine and brandy. The liquor is contained in skins, and brought from the interior on mules. It is not uncommon to see a hundred and fifty of these under the guidance of ten or a dozen peons, with the guaso or farmer at their head, encamping in some open spot near a farm-house in the neighbourhood of the town. Many of these houses keep spare buildings, in which their itinerant friends secure their liquor while they go to the farms around, or even into town, to seek customers, not choosing to pay the heavy toll for going into the port, unless certain of sale for the wine. I bought a quantity for common use: it is a rich, strong, and sweetish white wine, capable, with good management, of great improvement, and infinitely preferable to any of the Cape wines, excepting Constantia, that I ever drank. I gave six dollars for two arobas of it, so that it comes to about $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per bottle. The brandy might be good, but it is ill distilled, and generally spoiled by the infusion of aniseed. The liquor commonly drank by the lower classes is *chicha*, the regular descendant of that intoxicating *chicha* which the Spaniards found the South American savages possessed of the art of making, by chewing various berries and grains, spitting them into a large vessel, and allowing them to ferment. But the great and increasing demand for chicha has introduced a cleanlier way of making it; and it is now in fact little other than harsh cyder, the greater part being produced from apples, and flavoured with the various berries which formerly supplied the whole of the Indian chicha.

18*th.* — One of my young friends from the Doris, some of whom have been with me daily, has brought me some excellent partridges of his own shooting. They are somewhat larger than the partridges in England, but I think quite as good, when properly dressed, or rather plucked; but the cooks here have a habit of scalding the feathers off, which hurts the flavour of the bird. There are several kinds of birds here good to eat, but neither quail nor pheasant. They have plenty of enemies: from the condor, through every variety of the eagle, vulture, hawk, and owl, down to the ugly, dull, green parrot of Chile, which never looks tolerably well, except on the wing, and then the under part, of purple and yellow, is handsome. The face is peculiarly ugly: his parrot's beak being set in so close as to be to other parrots what the pug dog is to a greyhound. They are great foes to the little singing birds, whose notes as well as plumage resemble those of the linnet, and which abound in this neighbourhood. We have also a kind of blackbird with a soft, sweet, but very low note; a saucy thing that repeats two notes only, not unlike the mockbird, and that never moves out of the way; swallows and humming-birds are plenty; and the boys tell me they have seen marvellous storks and cranes in the marshes, which I shall take occasion to visit after the rains. I know not if we are to believe that the aboriginal Chilenos possessed the domestic fowl. At present they are abundant and excellent, as well as ducks, both native and foreign, and geese. Pigeons are not very common; but they thrive well, and are made pets of: — in short, this delightful climate seems favourable to the production of all that is necessary for the use and sustenance of man.

Monday, May 20th. — This is but a sad day. The Doris sailed early, and I feel again alone in the world; in her are gone the only relation, the only acquaintance I have in this wide country. In parting between friends, those who go have always less to feel than those who remain. The former have the exertion of moving, the charms of novelty, or at least variety of situation, and the advantage that new objects do not awaken associations connected with the subjects of our regret. Whereas the stationary person sees in each object a

memorial of those that are gone: the well-known voice is missed at the accustomed hour, and the solitary walk becomes a series of recollections, which bring at least the pain of feeling that it is solitary. Shakspeare,

> " Who walked in every path of human life,
> Felt every passion,"

often expresses this feeling, but never, in my mind, more truly or beautifully than when he makes Constance exclaim —

> " Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
> Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me;
> Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words;
> Remembers me of all his gracious parts;
> Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form: —
> Then have I reason to be fond of Grief."

In the course of the day, however, the kindly acts and expressions of my new neighbours, and the friendly attentions of Commodore and Mrs. Stewart of the American line-of-battle ship Franklin, of Baron Macau of His Catholic Majesty's ship Clorinde, and others, both English and foreigners, persuade me that there are yet many kindly hearts around me, and check the regrets I might otherwise indulge in. Yet I cannot forget that I am a widow, unprotected, and in a foreign land; separated from all my natural friends by distant and dangerous ways, whether I return by sea or land!

22d. —We have news from Peru, for the first time since my arrival, I think. A body of General San Martin's army has been surprised, and destroyed by the royalists. The Chileno squadron, under Lord Cochrane, has returned to Callao, from its dangerous and difficult voyage to Acapulco, after chasing the two last remaining Spanish ships into patriot ports, where they have been forced to surrender; and it is said that San Martin has offered most flattering terms of reconciliation to Lord Cochrane. If I understand matters aright, it may be possible for His Lordship to listen to them, for the sake of the cause; but, personally, he will surely never repose the slightest confidence in him.

23d.—To-day, for the first time since I came *home*, I rode to the port; and had leisure to observe the shops, markets, and wharf, if one may give that name to the platform before the custom-house.

The native shops, though very small, appear to me generally cleaner than those of Portuguese America. The silks of China, France, and Italy; the printed cottons of Britain; rosaries, and amulets, and glass from Germany;—generally furnish them. The stuffs of the country are very seldom to be purchased in a shop, because few are made but for domestic consumption. If a family has any to spare, it goes to the public market, like any other domestic produce. The French shops contain a richer variety of the same sort of goods; and there is a very tolerable French milliner, whose manners and smiles, so very artificial compared to the simple grace of the Chileno girls who employ her, would make no bad companion to Hogarth's French dancing-master leading out the Antinous to dance. The English shops are more numerous than any. Hardware, pottery*, and cotton and woollen cloths, form of course the staple articles. It is amusing to observe the ingenuity with which the Birmingham artists have accommodated themselves to the coarse transatlantic tastes. The framed saints, the tinsel snuff-boxes, the gaudy furniture, make one smile when contrasted with the decent and elegant simplicity of these things in Europe. The Germans furnish most of the glass in common use: it is of bad quality to be sure; but it, as well as the little German mirrors, which are chiefly brought to hang up as votive offerings in the chapels, answers all the purposes of Chileno consumption. Toys, beads, combs, and coarse perfumes, are likewise found in the German shops. Some few German artificers are also established here, and particularly a most ingenious blacksmith and farrier, one Frey, whose beautifully neat house and workshop, and his garden, render him an excellent model for the rising Chilenos.

* A great deal of coarse china ware is brought by the English traders directly across the Pacific. A few silks, crapes, and stuffs, with Indian muslins, also come here; but most of the fine articles go at once to Santiago.

English tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, and inn-keepers, hang out their signs in every street; and the preponderance of the English language over every other spoken in the chief streets, would make one fancy Valparaiso a coast town in Britain. The North Americans greatly assist in this, however. Their goods, consisting of common furniture, flour, biscuit, and naval stores, necessarily keep them busier out of doors than any other set of people. The more elegant Parisian or London furniture is generally despatched unopened to Santiago, where the demand for articles of mere luxury is of course greater. The number of piano-fortes brought from England is astonishing. There is scarcely a house without one, as the fondness for music is excessive; and many of the young ladies play with skill and taste, though few take the trouble to learn the gamut, but trust entirely to the ear.

As to the market, meat is not often exposed in it, the shambles being out of town in the Almendral, and the carcases are brought into the butchers' houses on horseback or in carts. The beef, mutton, and pork, are all excellent; but the clumsy method of cutting it up spoils it to the English eye and taste. A few Englishmen, however, have set up butcheries, where they also corn meat; and one of them has lately made mould candles as fine as any made in England, which is a real benefit to the country. The common candles, with thick wicks and unrefined and unbleached tallow, are, indeed, disgusting and wasteful.

The fish-market is indifferently supplied, I think chiefly from indolence, for the fish is both excellent and abundant. One of the most delicate is a kind of smelt; another, called the congrio, is as good as the best salmon trout, which it resembles in taste; but the flesh is white, the fish itself long, very flat towards the tail, and covered with a beautiful red-and-white marbled skin. There are excellent mullet, which the natives dry as the Devonshire fishers do the whiting to make *buckhorn;* besides a number of others whose names, either English or native, I know not. There is one which, if eaten quite fresh, is as good as the john doree, to which it bears great external

resemblance, but which is not eatable in a very few hours. * The shell-fish are various and good: clams, limpets, particularly a very large kind called loco, and most admirable crabs quite round in shape, are abundant. A large kind of muscle is frequently brought from the southern provinces; and the rocks of Quintero furnish the pico, a gigantic kind of barnacle, the most delicate shell-fish, without exception, I ever tasted.

With regard to the vegetables and fruit of the Valparaiso market, they are excellent in their way; but then the backward state of horticulture, as of every thing else, renders them much worse than they might be. Here fruit *will* grow in spite of neglect; and, though this is not the season for green or fresh fruits, the apples, pears, and grapes, the dried peaches, cherries †, and figs, and the abundance of oranges and limes, as well as quinces, prove that culture alone is wanting to bring almost every fruit to perfection. As to the kitchen vegetables, the first and best are the potatoes, natives of the soil, of the very first quality. Cabbages of every kind; lettuces, inferior only to those of Lambeth; a few turnips and carrots, just beginning to be cultivated here; every kind of pumpkin and melon; onions in perfection, with their family of chive, garlic, and eschalot; and I am promised in the season cauliflower, green peas, French beans, celery, and asparagus; the latter grows wild on the hills. The French beans are, of course, the very best; as the ripened seed is the frijole here, the faggioli of Italy, the haricot of France, and the caravansa of all seafaring nations.

As to the poultry, it is good in itself; but a London poulterer would be not a little shocked at the state in which it makes its appearance at market. All these things are brought on mules or on horseback to town. The fruit in square trunks made of hide, ingeniously plaited and woven; and the vegetables in a kind of net made also of hide, which, indeed, serves for almost every purpose here: buckets, bas-

* See Frezier, for a better catalogue of the fishes.

† A single cherry plant was brought into Chile about the year 1590, whence all those of Chile and Juan Fernandez have sprung.

kets, bags, doors, flooring, hods to carry mortar in, hand-barrows, every thing, in short, is occasionally made of it.

Besides these articles of ordinary consumption, ponchos, hats, shoes, coarse stuffs, coarse earthenware, and sometimes jars of fine clay from Mellipilla, or even Penco, and small cups of the same for the purpose of taking matee, are exposed for sale by the country people; who crowd round the stalls with an air of the greatest importance, smoking, and occasionally retiring to a line in the background, where the savoury smell and the crackling of the boiling fat inform the passengers, that fritters both sweet and savoury are to be procured; nor are the cups of wine or aguardiente wanting to improve the repast. But the greatest comfort to the market people is a fountain of excellent water which falls from a hideous lion's mouth in the wall of the government house, or rather of the little fort which the governor inhabits, into a rude granite basin. There is no want of water about Valparaiso; but it is clumsily managed, as far as relates to domestic comfort and to watering the shipping in the harbour. The most convenient watering-place is supplied by a pretty abundant stream that is led close to the beach; but it passes by and through the hospital, and there is consequently a prejudice against it. Besides, I have heard that the water of this stream does not keep. There is another which has not that defect, where a small sum is paid for every vessel filled, whether large or small; and I believe the English ships of war usually fill their tanks there.

Returning from my shopping, I stopped at the apothecary's (for there is but one), to buy some powder-blue, which, to my surprise, I found could only be procured there. I fancy it must resemble an apothecary's of the fourteenth century, for it is even more antique looking than those I have seen in Italy or France. The man has a taste for natural history; so that besides his jars of old-fashioned medicines, inscribed all over with the celestial signs, oddly intermixed with packets of patent medicines from London, dried herbs, and filthy gallipots, there are fishes' heads and snakes' skins; in one corner a great condor tearing the flesh from the bones of a

lamb; in another a monster sheep, having an adscititious leg growing from the skin of his forehead; and there are chickens, and cats, and parrots, altogether producing a combination of antique dust and recent filth, far exceeding any thing I ever beheld.—" England, with all thy faults, I love thee still," Cowper said at home, and Lord Byron at Calais. For my part, I believe if they had either of them been in Valparaiso, they would have forgotten that there were any faults at all in England. It is very pretty and very charming to read of delicious climates, and myrtle groves, and innocent and simple people who have few wants; but as man is born a social and an improvable, if not a perfectable animal, it is really very disagreeable to perform the retrograde steps to a state that counteracts the blessings of climate, and places less comfort in a palace in Chile than in a labourer's hut in Scotland. Well did the Spirit say, " It is not good for man to live alone." While I had another to communicate with, I used to see the fairest side of every picture; now I suspect myself of that growing selfishness, that looks with coldness or dislike on all not conformable to my own tastes and ideas, and that sees but the sad realities of things. The poetry of life is not over; but I begin to feel that Crabbe's pictures are truer than Lord Byron's.

Monday, May 27th.—Tempted by the fineness of the day, and a desire to see wild trees again (for there are none but fruit trees in the immediate neighbourhood of Valparaiso), I determined to take a country ride, and to treat my maid with the same. The difficulty was in mounting her, as I had but one side-saddle; however she managed to sit on one of the pillions of the countrywomen, who ride on what we should call the wrong side of the horse, on little saddles like those sometimes used for donkeys without pummels, and having a back and sides like an ill-made chair, covered with coloured velvet; and we went boldly up the Sorra or Sierra, that backs the town, by the Santiago road for a few miles, and then turned into a delightful valley called the Caxon de las Palmas, being part of the large estate of the same name depending on the Merced. For the first half mile we descended a steep hill, not richer in herbs or shrubs

than those we had left on the great road; but having reached a beautiful little stream, that leaps from stone to stone, now forming miniature cascades, and now little lakes among the short thick grass, the shrubs became of higher growth; and as we brushed through them, the fragrance that exhaled from their leaves brought Milton's bowers of Paradise to my mind —

> " The roof
> Of thickest covert, was inwoven shade;
> Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
> Of firm and fragrant leaf: on either side
> ———————— each odorous bushy shrub
> Fenced up the verdant wall."

The varieties of laurel and myrtle are most conspicuous; and there are abundance of other trees and shrubs, most of whose leaves emit, on being crushed, a spicy flavour. One of the largest and most beautiful is the canela, or false cinnamon, which is used in medicine by both Indians and Spaniards, and whose properties are very similar to those of the real cinnamon of the East. * It is moreover an interesting tree, as connected with the history and superstitions of the natives. Under it the Pagan Chilenos performed their sacrifices to their deities, and invoked Pillam, the supreme judge; and I believe that some tribes of the Araucanians still revere it. It is certain that the branches of this tree, dipped in the blood of sacrifices, are used to sprinkle and consecrate places of council; and that such branches are considered as tokens of peace, and delivered accordingly to ambassadors on the forming of any treaty. † It was here as the oak was to the ancient Druids; and its beauty, its fragrance, and its wide-spreading shade, give to it in amenity what it wants of the grandeur of the king of forests.

After riding some time, partly up the bed of the rivulet, partly along its soft green margin and through its fragrant groves, we came

* For a descriptive catalogue of some of the most remarkable trees of Chile, I refer to the Appendix. I know it is botanically deficient; but having been drawn up by order of government for a particular purpose, I believe it to be authentic as far as it goes.

† *e. g.* That with the Spaniards in 1643.

to an open space; where three or four picturesque cottages, with gardens and a few fields, occupied a diminutive plain, enclosed by steep woody mountains, where the palms that give name to the valley first appeared. The gardens are pretty extensive, but are chiefly occupied by strawberry beds. The fields are newly ploughed, and the cattle were grazing on the lower slopes of the surrounding hills: two or three palms rise from out the hedges of fruit trees that border the little gardens; they are different from any of the tribe I have seen, and produce a nut of the shape of the hazel, but much larger; the kernel is like a cocoa-nut, and, like it, when young contains milk; the leaf is larger, thicker, and richer than that of the great cocoa-nut palm, and therefore better adapted for thatching, to which use it is commonly applied here, and accordingly receives the name of *Palma Tejera;* the lower leaves are cut annually, and not above two or three of the upper ones left: by this means the tall straight trunk becomes crowned with a peculiar capital before the leaves branch off; and this is so similar to some of the capitals in the ruins of ancient Egypt, that I could not help fancying that I beheld the model of their solid yet elegant architecture before me.

This palm differs considerably from any I have seen in any part of the world. The height of those I have seen when full-grown is from fifty to sixty feet; at about two-thirds of that height the stems narrow considerably. The bark is composed of circular rings, knotty and brown; they are always upright, and exceed in circumference all the palms I know, except the dragon tree: the spathe containing the flower is so large, that the peasants use it to hold various domestic articles; and it is shaped so exactly like the canoes of the coast, that I think it must have served as the model for building them. I have not seen the flower, but, like most of the tribe, the male and female flowers are produced on different plants; and trees bearing the nuts are more respected by the natives, who do not cut the leaves, or at least do not so completely strip the trees of them as they do the barren plants. Perhaps, however, the accident of a palm growing within the limit of the fields may account for this, and that the

cutting the out-lying palms so close may injure them so as to prevent the growth of the fruit. This tree, when it is old, that is, when the people calculate that it may have seen a hundred and fifty years pass by, is cut down; and, by the application of fire, a thick rich juice distils from it, called here *miel*, or honey. The taste is between that of honey and the finest molasses. The quantity yielded by each tree sells for 200 dollars. Some other species of palms I know produce a sort of sugar. The date tree is one; but that, I remember, used to be tapped for the saccharine juice in the East Indies. I mean to suggest to some of my friends to try whether this tree, like the true cocoa-nut and the palmetto of Adamson, as well as the cycas or todda-pana, yields the toddy from which the best East Indian arrack is distilled. Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos says the Indians call it *Maguey*, and make honey, wine, vinegar, cloth, cord, and thatch from it. *

After stopping some time at the first group of palms, we rode along the Caxon by the wood-cutters' paths, till stopped by the thickets, following the course of the stream; which sometimes flowed through a smooth valley, and sometimes between mountains so steep that the sun had not reached the bottom by noon-day, and the shrubs were sparkling with white dew. On our return, we met the first flock of sheep I had seen here. They are rather small; the fleeces appear fine and thick; they fetch at present from two to three, or even four reals, when very fine; but just now the price of the whole sheep would not exceed seven reals. I am happy to say, that during my ride I saw several fields newly brought into cultivation: it is painful to see the waste of fertile land here; but the country wants

* Is this the honey which Cabeza de Vacca found among the Guaranies in such plenty when he crossed from St. Catherine's to Assumption over-land? The bread made of pine flour may have been plentiful, but not very agreeable. The nut fresh is larger, but like the pine-nut of Italy: there are two kinds; one like the chocolate-nut, the other longer, paler, and shining; both produced in great abundance in the Cordillera de los Andes. The Chilian Agave is also described under the name of *Maguey*; and, in the northern provinces, its juices are converted into a kind of treacle and a fermented drink. The fibres of the leaves make good canvass and cordage. I suspect this is the true *Maguey*.

people. I believe the whole population of the states of Chile does not equal that of London. But it is too early to judge of these things yet. As it is, I am disposed to think highly of the temper and disposition of the natives. They are frank, gay, docile, and brave; and surely these qualities should go to the making of a fine people — a nation that will be something.

May 30th.—I dined to-day in the port, with my very kind friends, Mr. Hogan, the American consul, and his wife and daughters; and met Captain Guise, lately of the Chileno naval service, together with his followers Dr. —— and Mr. ——. Captain Guise was exceedingly polite to me, and appears to be a good-natured gentlemanlike man. I have no doubt that, in the service, the technical and professional knowledge of Dr. —— and Mr. —— has been of infinite service, and that they have claims on the gratitude, to a certain degree, of all who love the cause of independence; but they neither possess the elevated tone of mind necessary for leading men and influencing council, nor information for guidance by precedent. In short, I must look upon them as adventurers, whose only aim has been to accumulate wealth in these rich provinces, without either the philanthropic or the chivalrous views which I am persuaded have accompanied the hopes of personal advantage in the minds of many of their fellow-labourers, in the great struggle for independence. To all whose views have been so bounded disappointment must be the consequence. Mere gold and silver scarcely render individuals rich; and nations they have in many cases rendered poor. Hence, Chile and Peru, who only possess money, and not money's worth, are far too poor to give adequate rewards to their foreign servants; and all that could rationally be anticipated was the precarious chance of Spanish prize-money. I feel convinced that the divisions that I hear have taken place in the squadron have arisen from the disappointment of such hopes too highly raised; unless indeed, what I should shudder to think true, any English officers expected that their service in Chile would be only a kind of licensed buccaneering, where each should be master

of his own ship and his own actions, without rule or subordination. But the government wisely foresaw that danger; and the English naval code was adopted, and rigid subordination established; the supreme command confided to able, firm, and honourable hands; and I fondly trust, that the benefit of this sage measure will be permanently felt.

By letters from Lima received this day, it appears that Lord Cochrane had not gone on shore in Peru*; that he lies in Callao bay, with his guns shotted; and that we may soon expect him here.

I had an opportunity to-day of observing how carelessly even sensible men make their observations in foreign countries, and on daily matters concerning them. A physician, at dinner, mentioned the medicinal qualities of the *culen* (*Cytisus Arboreus* †), and that it would be worth while to bring it into Chile, or at least to the neighbourhood of Valparaiso, to cultivate, for the purpose of exportation. I was almost afraid to say, as I am a new-comer, that the country people had shown me a plant they called culen; but, on venturing to tell the gentleman so, he said it could not be because he never heard of it here. I went home, walked to the Quebrada, found the rocks on both sides covered with the best culen, and the inferior sort which grows much higher, not uncommon. Yet he is a clever man, and has resided some years in the country. This same culen is very agreeable as tea, and is said to possess antiscorbutic and antifebrile qualities, the smell of the dried leaves is pleasant, and a sweetish gum exudes from the flower-stalks. This gum is used by shoemakers instead of wax; and the fresh leaves formed into a salve with hogs'-lard, are applied with good effect to recent wounds.

The mistakes about the culen put me in mind of Mrs. Barbauld's admirable tale, in the "Evenings at Home," of "Eyes and no Eyes." How much we are obliged to that excellent woman, who, with genius

* See page 108. of the Introduction to this part of the Journal, for the reasons of this.

† Frezier gives an excellent plate and description of it. See likewise the Appendix.

and taste to adorn the first walks of literature, gave up the greatest fame to do the greatest good, by forming the minds of the young, and leading them to proper objects of pursuit. I am proud to belong to the sex and nation, which will furnish names to engage the reverence and affection of our fellow-creatures as long as virtue and literature continue to be cultivated. As long as there are parents to teach and children to be taught, no father, no mother will hear with indifference the names of Barbauld, Trimmer, or Edgeworth. Even here, in this distant clime, they will be revered. The first stone is laid; schools are established, and their works are preparing to form and enlighten the children of another language and another hemisphere.

Friday, May 31st.—To-day I indulged myself with a walk which I had been wishing to take for some days, to an obscure portion of the Almendral, called the Rincona, or nook, I suppose because it is in a little corner formed by two projecting hills. My object in going thither was to see the manufactory of coarse pottery, which I supposed to be established there, because I was told that the *ollas*, or jars, for cooking and carrying water, the earthen lamps, and the earthen brassiers, were all made there. On quitting the straight street of the Almendral, a little beyond the rivulet that divides it from my hill, I turned into a lane, the middle of which is channelled by a little stream which falls from the hills behind the Rincona, and after being subdivided and led through many a garden and field, finds its way much diminished to the sand of the Almendral where it is lost. Following the direction, though not adhering to the course of the rill, I found the Rincona beyond some ruined but thick walls, which stretch from the foot of the hills to the sea, and which were once intended as a defence to the port on that side: they are nothing now. I looked round in vain for any thing large enough either to be a manufactory, or even to contain the necessary furnaces for baking the pottery; nevertheless I passed many huts, at the doors of which I saw jars and dishes set out for sale, and concluded that these were the huts

of the inferior workmen. However on advancing a little farther I found that I must look for no regular manufactory, no division of labour, no machinery, not even the potter's wheel, none of the aids to industry which I had conceived almost indispensable to a trade so artificial as that of making earthenware. At the door of one of the poorest huts, formed merely of branches and covered with long grass, having a hide for a door, sat a family of manufacturers. They were seated on sheep-skins spread under the shade of a little penthouse formed of green boughs, at their work. A mass of clay ready tempered * lay before them, and each person according to age and ability was forming jars, plates, or dishes. The work-people were all women, and I believe that no man condescends to employ himself in this way, that is, in making the small ware: the large wine jars, &c. of Melipilla are made by men. As the shortest way of learning is to mix at once with those we wish to learn from, I seated myself on the sheep-skin and began to work too, imitating as I could a little girl who was making a simple saucer. The old woman who seemed the chief directress, looked at me very gravely, and then took my work and showed me how to begin it anew, and work its shape aright. All this, to be sure, I might have guessed at; but the secret I wanted to learn, was the art of polishing the clay, for it is not rendered shining by any of the glazing processes I have seen; therefore I waited patiently and worked at my dish till it was ready. Then the old woman put her hand into a leathern pocket which she wore in front, and drew out a smooth shell, with which she first formed the edges and borders anew; and then rubbed it, first gently, and, as the clay hardened, with greater force, dipping the shell occasionally in water, all over the surface, until a perfect polish was produced, and the vessel was set to dry in the shade.

Sometimes the earthenware so prepared is baked in large ovens constructed on purpose; but as often, the holes in the side of the hill,

* The clay is very fine and smooth, and found about nine inches or a foot from the surface; it requires little tempering, and is free from extraneous matter; the women knead it with their hands.

whence the clay has been dug, or rather scraped with the hands, serve for this purpose. The wood chiefly used for these simple furnaces is the espinella or small thorn, not at all the same as the espina or common firewood of the country, which is the mimosa, whose flowers are highly aromatic. The espinella has more the appearance of a thorny coronilla. It is said to make the most ardent fire of any of the native woods. The pottery here is only for the most ordinary utensils; but I have seen some jars from Melipilla and Penco which in shape and workmanship might pass for Etruscan. These are sometimes sold for as high prices as fifty dollars, and are used for holding water. They are ornamented with streaks, and various patterns, in white and red clay, where the ground is black; and where it is red or brown, with black and white. Some of the red jars have these ornaments of a shining substance that looks like gold dust, which is, I believe, clay having pyrites of iron; and many have grotesque heads, with imitations of human arms for handles, and ornaments indented on them; but, excepting in the forming of the heads and arms, I do not recollect any Chileno vase with raised decorations.*

* On the Peruvian vases procured from the tombs, there are many and various patterns in relief; but I have not seen any modern Peruvian pottery.

It is impossible to conceive a greater degree of apparent poverty than is exhibited in the potters' cottages of the Rincona. Most, however, had a decent bed; a few stakes driven into the ground, and laced across with thongs, form the bedstead; a mattress of wool, and, where the women are industrious, sheets of coarse homespun cotton and thick woollen coverlets form no contemptible resting-place for the man and wife, or rather for the wife, for I believe the men pass the greater part of every night, according to the custom of the country, sleeping, wrapped up in their ponchos, in the open air. The infants are hung in little hammocks of sheep-skin to the poles of the roof; and the other children or relations sleep as they can on skins, wrapped in their ponchos, on the ground. In one of the huts there was no bed; the whole furniture consisted of two skin trunks; and there were eleven inhabitants, including two infants, twins, there being neither father nor man of any kind to own or protect them. The natural gentleness and goodness of nature of the people of Chile preserve even the vicious, at least among the women, from that effrontery which such a family as I here visited would, and must, have exhibited in Europe. My instructress had a husband, and her house was more decent: it had a bed; it had a raised bench formed of clay; and there were the implements of female industry, a distaff and spindle, and knitting needles formed of the spines of the great torch-thistle from Coquimbo, which grow to nine inches long. * But the hamlet of the Rincona is the most wretched I have yet seen. Its natives, however, pointed out to me their beautiful view, which is indeed magnificent, across the ocean to the snow-capped Andes, and boasted of the pleasure of walking on their hills on a holiday evening: then they showed me their sweet and wholesome stream of water, and their ancient fig-trees, inviting me to go back "when the figs should "be ripe, and the flowers looking at themselves in the stream." I was ashamed of some of the expressions of pity that had escaped

* The more delicate spines of the lesser torch-thistle serve here for pins.

me. — If I cannot better their condition, why awaken them to a sense of its miseries?

Leaving the Rincona, instead of going directly to the Almendral, I skirted the hill by the hamlet called the Pocura, where I found huts of a better description, most of them having a little garden with cherry and plum trees, and a few cabbages and flowers. In the veranda of one of them a woman was weaving coarse blue cloth. The operation is tedious, for the fixed loom and the *shuttle* are unknown; and next to the weaving of the Arab hair-cloths, I should conceive that in no part of the world can this most useful operation be performed so clumsily or inconveniently. At the further part of the Pocura an English butcher has built a house that looks like a palace here, to the great admiration of the natives. Immediately above, on a plain which may be from 80 to 100 feet above the village, is the new burying ground or pantheon, the government having wisely taken measures to prevent the continuance of burying in or near the town. The prejudice, however, naturally attached to an ancient place of sepulture prevents this from being occupied according to the intention of the projectors. Separated from this only by a wall, is the place at length assigned by Roman Catholic superstition to the heretics as a burial ground; or rather, which the heretics have been permitted to purchase. Hitherto, such as had not permission to bury in the forts where they could be guarded, preferred being carried out to sea, and sunk; — many instances having occurred of the exhumation of heretics, buried on shore, by the bigotted natives, and the exposure of their bodies to the birds and beasts of prey.

The situation of this resting-place is beautiful; surrounded by mountains, yet elevated above the plain, it looks out upon the ocean over gardens and olive groves; and if the spirit hovers over its mortal remains, here at least it is surrounded with "shapes and sights "delightful." But I trust it is better employed than in watching the frail and perishable creature of clay; a task, alas! but irksome, when life itself is the reward, but how disgusting to a pure intelligence, which, once freed from its sublunary fetters, must delight in its liberty

and its unchecked powers. Oh! what, when the busy longing after immortality is gratified, can have power to bring the spirit down to earth? Not, surely, a lingering fondness for its ancient dwelling; — no, it must be love, which feels like an immortal sentiment for some kindred and congenial spirit that could prompt us to hover near till that spirit joined us in our flight to eternity. I firmly believe that no communication can take place between those once gone, and the habitants of earth. But will not the happier friend be conscious of the feelings and regrets of those he has left; may he not watch over them and welcome them at last to his own state? There is nothing contrary to reason in such a belief; and I think revelation encourages it. And surely it is one means of reconciliation, — one source of comfort to those who have closed the dying eyes of all that was best and dearest.

It was twilight long before I reached home, and the evening had become chill and gloomy; and I sat down in my solitary cottage, and thought of the hopes and wishes with which I had left England, and almost doubted whether I, too, had not passed the bounds of life: but such abstractions can never happily last long. The ordinary current of existence rolls not so smoothly, but that at every turn some inequality awakens consciousness; and I roused myself to my daily task of study, and of writing down the occurrences of the day.

I have often thought a collection of faithful journals might furnish better food to a moral philosopher for his speculations, than all the formal disquisitions that ever were written. There are days of hurry and happy occupation, that leave also a hurry of spirits, that permits but the shortest and most concise entries; others there are, where idleness and the self-importance we all feel, more or less, in writing a journal, swell the pages with laborious trifling; and some, again, where a few short sentences tell of a state of mind that it requires courage indeed to exhibit to another eye. A copied journal is less characteristic: it may be equally true, it may give a better, because a more rational and careful account of countries visited; and the copying it, may awaken associations and lead the writer to

other views, — to descant with other feelings on the same occurrences. And though there be no intentional variation, some shades of character will be kept under by fear, some suppressed, it may be through modesty, and there are feelings for others which will blot out many more: yet the journal is true; true to nature, true to facts, and true to a better feeling than often dictates the momentary lines of spleen or suffering. This truth I solemnly engage myself to preserve. I cannot give, and I trust no one will demand, more.

June 2d. — A rainy morning, and feeling cold, yet the thermometer not below 50° of Fahrenheit. While I was at breakfast; one of my little neighbours came running in, screaming out "Señora, he is come! "he is come!"—"Who is come, child?"—"Our admiral, our great and good admiral; and if you come to the veranda, you will see the flags in the Almendral." Accordingly, I looked out, and did see the Chilian flag hoisted at every door: and two ships more in the roads than there were yesterday. The O'Higgins and Valdivia had arrived during the night, and all the inhabitants of the port and suburbs had made haste to display their flags and their joy on Lord Cochrane's safe return. I am delighted at his arrival, not only because I want to see him, whom I look up to as my natural friend here*, but because I think he ought to have influence to mend some things, and to prevent others; which, without such influence, will, I fear, prove highly detrimental to the rising state of Chile, if not to the general cause of South American independence.

My mind, for a time after I arrived, was not sufficiently free to attend, with any degree of interest, to the political state of the country: yet a measure of vital importance is now pending.

On the first settlement of affairs after the battle of Chacabuco, Don Bernardo O'Higgins had been chosen to preside over the nation, under the title of Supreme Director of Chile. A senate was chosen from among the respectable citizens to assist him, and a provisional

* Captain Graham was a very young midshipman in the Thetis when Lord Cochrane was an elder one. Sir A. Cochrane was the captain.

Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

constitution was adopted. The law of the land continued to be such as the Old Spaniards had bequeathed it. The constitution gave equal rights to all; abolished slavery, limited the privileges of the mayorasgos, diminished the power and revenue of the church, and adopted the English naval code for the regulation of its maritime affairs. But three years and a half of internal peace and success in all distant expeditions had given leisure to the northern provinces of Chile, and particularly to the capital, to see and feel the inconveniences of the actual form of government; which was in fact a despotic oligarchy at first, and, by the absence or secession of the members of the senate, who were disgusted at the opposition they met with in a plan for declaring their office perpetual and hereditary, the whole power had been left in the single hands of the director: if he had had a spark of ordinary ambition, he might have made himself absolute. It is seldom that a successful soldier like O'Higgins has the sense to see, and the prudence to avoid, the danger of absolute power: he, however, has had both; and the senate being dissolved, he has convoked a deliberative assembly for the purpose of forming a permanent constitution. The members are to be named by him and his private council, from among the most respectable inhabitants of each township in Chile. This assembly is to devise the means for forming and securing a national representation; and, till such representation can be called together, to sit as a legislative body, for a period not exceeding three months, while the executive power still remains in the hands of the director. *

If such an assembly should honestly do its duty, nothing could be wiser than this measure. But chosen by the executive, and therefore biassed not unnaturally in its favour, it appears to me, that every possible difficulty lies in the way of obtaining through that assembly an effective representative government; and it might have been wiser, and certainly, as the government is constituted, as legal, to have issued a decree for electing representatives for the towns at once.

* See Gazeta Ministeriel de Chile, No. 44. tom. iii.

These, as the people of the country increased and became enlightened, would naturally add to their numbers, and the government would grow along with the people. I am too old not to be afraid of ready-made constitutions, and especially of one fitted to the habits of a highly civilised people applied too suddenly to an infant nation like this. Nothing here can be too simple; perhaps, the director and senate, or at most, the director with a principal burgess from each town, to be changed annually, and representing the council of the primitive kings or patriarchs, would for many years suit such a state of society better than any more complicated form of legislature. To this council should certainly be called the chiefs of the army and of the navy. With so limited a population, boards for the regulation of different departments of government must be worse than useless. Neither the men nor the money can be spared for such purposes, and a single accountable chief from each department would answer every end.

Here, where so few have received an education fit to become legislators, the lawyers and the clergy must bear an undue proportion to the rest. For the maritime town of Valparaiso a priest is elected; and the merchants, who will fill up the other places with perhaps three or four soldiers, while there is no representative for the navy, are men whose views have become contracted by their hitherto confined speculations, and from whom, however well-intentioned, it would be vain to expect any very enlightened proceedings.

I am interested in the character of the people, and wish well to the good cause of independence. Let the South American colonies once secure that, and civil liberty, and all its attendant blessings, will come in time.

But I have been writing away the rainy morning, and indulging in thoughts too much akin to those of Milton's conceited inhabitants of Pandemonium. What have I to do with states or governments, who am living in a foreign land by sufferance, and who can tell from experience

> "How small of all that human hearts endure
> The part that kings or laws can cause or cure!"

June 6th. — To-day the feast of the Corpus Domini was celebrated; and I went to the Iglesia Matriz with my friend Mrs. Campbell to hear her brother Don Mariano de Escalada preach. We went at 9 o'clock: she had put off her French or English dress, and adopted the Spanish costume; I did so also, so far as to wear a mantilla instead of a bonnet, such being the custom on going to church. A boy followed us with missals, and a carpet to kneel on. The church, like all other buildings here, appears mean from without; but within it is large and decently decorated: to be sure the Virgin was in white satin, with a hoop and silver fringes, surrounded with looking-glasses, and supported on either hand by St. Peter and St. Paul; the former in a lace cassock, and the latter in a robe formed of the same block which composes his own gracious personage. As there was to be a procession, and as the governor was to be a principal person in the ceremonies preceding it, we waited his arrival for the beginning of the service until 11 o'clock; so that I had plenty of time to look at the church, the saints, and the ladies, who were, generally speaking, very pretty, and becomingly dressed with their mantillas and braided hair. At length the great man arrived, and it was whispered that he had been transacting business with the admiral, and transmitting to him, and the captains, and other officers, the thanks of the government for their services. * But the whispers died away, and the young preacher began. The sermon was of course occasional; it spoke in good language of the moral freedom conferred by the Christian dispensation, and thence the step was not far to political freedom: but the argument was so decorously managed, that it could offend none; and yet so strongly urged that it might persuade many. I was highly pleased with it, and sorry to see it succeeded by the ceremony of kissing the reliquary, which seemed as little to the taste of Zenteno as might be, by the look of ineffable disdain he bestowed on the poor priest who presented it. The procession was now arranged; and my friend and I,

* See these letters in the Introduction, p. 110.

to escape joining it, hurried out of church, and took a stand to see it at some distance. As I saw the mean little train appear,—for mean it was, though composed of all the municipal and military dignitaries that could be collected, —I could not help thinking of the splendid show which three years ago I saw on the day of the Corpus Domini in Rome, and thinking how, in both cases, the "form of godliness denied the power thereof," and as I knelt to the symbols of religion, how widely different was that faith which worships God in spirit and in truth.

There was a pretty part of the show, however, on the water: about 150 little boats and canoes, dressed with the national colours, and firing rockets every now and then, rowed round the bay, and stopped at every church, and before every fishing cove, to sing a hymn, or chaunt. After accompanying them for some time, I went into Mr. Hoseason's house, and there I found Lord Cochrane. I should say he looks better than when I last saw him in England, although his life of exertion and anxiety has not been such as is in general favourable to the looks. — How my heart yearned to think that when our own country lost his service, England,

> "Like a base Ethiope, threw a pearl away
> Richer than all his kind."

But he is doing honour to his native land, by supporting that cause which used to be hers; and in after-ages his name will be among those of the household gods of the Chilenos.

On Lord Cochrane's arrival here from Lima, every body was of course anxious to hear what he, and the officers of the squadron in general, think and feel concerning the protectorate of Peru. His Lordship, however, does not say any thing concerning the conduct of San Martin; but the officers are not so discreet: they universally represent the present government of Peru as most despotic and tyrannical, now and then stained by cruelties more like the frenetic acts of the Czar Paul than the inflictions of even the greatest military tyrants. I have a letter from an officer of the Doris, saying that an elderly respectable woman in Lima, having imprudently spoken too

freely of San Martin, was condemned to be exposed for three hours in the streets in a robe of penance; and that as her voice had offended, she was gagged, and the gag used was a human bone. She was taken home fainting with a natural loathing, and died!

There is now in this port a vessel, the Milagro, full of Spanish prisoners, to whom San Martin had promised security and protection for their persons and property. However, after paying half their property for letters of naturalisation, and for permission to retain the rest, and with it to leave Lima, they were seized and stripped on the road to Callao, huddled on board the prison-ship, and are now in the bay to be sent to the rest of the prisoners at Santiago, whose captivity is too probably for life, as they are only to be liberated when Old Spain acknowledges the independence of her colonies. These poor people have arrived without the common necessaries of life, and leave has been refused to supply some of their most pressing wants; — but Lord Cochrane has done it without leave. Would that he could inspire these people with some of the humanities of war as practised in Europe!

Two agents of the Peruvian government are said to have arrived in the Milagro, for the purpose of *spying* the state of Lord Cochrane's ships, and perhaps of tampering with the officers, or the government itself, to get them for Peru. It is given out, however, that they are only agents for the prisoners; it may be so, but the report shows the opinions entertained of the honesty of the Protector of Peru.

The admiral is on the point of visiting the director at Santiago. I do hope the government will set about doing him the justice of repairing the ships: there is still enough for him to do. While the royalists under Quintanilla continue to hold Chiloe, there will always be a shelter and receptacle for reinforcements from Spain; and though I believe it impossible that these provinces should ever again be united to the mother country, yet the contest and the miseries of civil war may be protracted. Besides, what is to protect the long coast of Chile but its squadron?

8th. — I went to pay a visit to the wife of my landlord, who had

often entreated me to go and take matee with her; but my dread of using the bombilla, or tube which passes round to every body for the purpose of sucking it up, had hitherto deterred me. However, I resolved to get over my prejudice, and accordingly walked to her house this evening. It is built, I should think, something on the plan of the semi-Moorish houses which the Spaniards introduced into this country. Passing under a gateway, on each side of which are shops, occupied by various owners, looking towards the streets, I entered a spacious court-yard; one side of which is occupied by the gate, and into which the windows of the house look out. A second side of the quadrangle appeared to be store-houses; the other two, by their jalousied windows, showed that the dwelling apartments were situated there. In the entrance-hall the servants were sitting, or standing loitering, for the working time of day was over; and they were looking into the family apartment, where the women were lolling on the estrada, or raised platform covered with carpet (alfombra), supported by cushions, on one side of the room; and the men, with their hats on, were sitting on high chairs, smoking and spitting, on the other. Along the wall by the estrada, a covered bench runs the whole length of the room; and there I was invited to sit, and the matee was called for.

A relation of the lady then went to the lower end of the estrada, and sat on the edge of it, before a large chafingdish of lighted charcoal, on which was a copper-pot full of boiling water. The matee cups were then handed to the matee maker, who, after putting in the proper ingredients, poured the boiling water over them, applied the bombilla to her lips, and then handed it to me; but it was long ere I could venture to taste the boiling liquor, which is harsher than tea, but still very pleasant. As soon as I had finished my cup, it was instantly replenished and handed to another person, and so on till all were served; two cups and tubes having gone round the whole circle. Soon after the matee, sugar-biscuits were handed round, and then cold water, which concluded the visit. The people I went to see were of the better class of shopkeepers, dignified by

the name of merchants; and holding a small landed estate under one of the mayorasgos near the chacra where I reside. Their manners are decent; and there is a grace and kindliness in the women that might adorn the most polished drawing-rooms, and which prevents the want of education from being so disgusting as in our own country, where it is generally accompanied by vulgarity. Here the want of cultivation sends women back to their natural means of persuasion, gentleness and caresses; and if a little cunning mingles with them, it is the protection nature has given the weak against the strong. In England a pretty ignorant woman is nine times in ten a vixen, and rules or tries to rule accordingly. Here the simplicity of nature approaches to the highest refinements of education; and a well-born and well-bred English gentlewoman is not very different in external manners from a Chilena girl.

June 12th.— After three days' rain, this morning is as fine "as that on which Paradise was created." So I spent half of it in gardening, half in wandering about the quebradas in search of wild flowers; and first, in the sandy lane near me I found a variety of the yellow horned poppy, and the common mallow of England, besides the cultivated variety with pink flowers; vervain, two or three kinds of trefoil, furniatory, fennel, punpernel, and a small scarlet mallow with flowers not larger. These, with three or four geraniums, sorrel, dock, the ribbed plantain, lucerne, which is the common fodder here, and several other small flowers, made me imagine myself in an English lane. The new plants that first struck me were the beautiful red quintral, which some call the Chile honeysuckle, from its fancied resemblance to that shrub; but it is scentless, and it is a parasite. And a beautiful little flower, also a parasite, called here cabella de angel, or angel's hair (*Cuscuta*). It has no leaves, but their place is supplied by long semi-transparent stalks; which, waving in the air from the branches of the trees on which they have fastened, appear like locks of golden hair, and have given name to the plant. The flower grows in thick close clusters, and looks like white wax, with a rosy tinge in the centre; it is five-petalled, about the size of the single

florets of lily of the valley, and very fragrant. Both these parasites are considered by the natives as emollients, and are applied to wounds.

I soon found myself beyond my own knowledge of plants, and therefore took a large handful to a neighbour, reputed to be skilful in their properties; and, as I went in, thought on the beautiful passage in the "Faithful Shepherdess," where Chlorine apostrophises the simples she has been gathering.

> "Oh, you sons of earth,
> You only brood, unto whose happy birth
> Virtue was given; holding more of nature
> Than man, her first-born and most perfect creature;
> Let me adore you! You, that only can
> Help or kill nature, drawing out the span
> Of life and breath, e'en to the end of time;
> You, that these hands did crop long before prime
> Of day, give me your names, and next your hidden powers." *

And, first, the culen, whose virtues I have mentioned before, and which I now learned was also a charm against witchcraft. The litri, the leaves of which blister the hands, nay, so acrid is the plant, that persons but passing by, have their faces swelled by it, and it is dangerous to sleep in its shade. Nevertheless, a drink made from its berries, is considered wholesome: the wood is hard as iron, and is used for plough-shares. The algarobilla, a pretty small acacia, yields a black dye, and common writing-ink is made from it. *Quilo*, a small flowering trailing shrub, the flower is greenish-white, succeeded by a berry, or rather seed, enclosed in a fleshy cup, divided into five segments, and exposing the seed; the whole berry is of the size of a currant, and of a pleasant sub-acid taste: the roots, when boiled, are used to restore grey hair to its original colour. The floripondio, (*Datura Arborea*,) whose beautiful funnel-shaped flower, milk white, ten inches long and four broad, smells sweet as the sun goes down. Some beautiful varieties of lady's slipper, (*Calceolarea*,) romarillo or

* See "Faithful Shepherdess," Act II., for these, and the next thirty-seven lines, for a delightful descriptive catalogue of some of our English simples.

bastard rosemary, an infusion of which is drank to strengthen the stomach. Palqui, the yellow and the lilac-flowered; the last smells like jasmine during the night, but is disagreeable after sun-rise: the plant is hurtful taken inwardly, but useful as a lotion, for swellings and cutaneous eruptions: it is chiefly used for making soap, as it yields the finest ashes, and in the greatest quantities of any plant here. Yerva Mora is a variety of solanum, a specific for complaints in the eyes: there is a beautiful azure-blue variety, with deeply-indented leaves.* Manzanilla, so called from its smelling of apples, is a strong bitter, like camomile, and is used in the same manner. It looks like camomile with the outer florets stripped off: the true camomile is called *Manzanilla de Castilla.* The maravilla or shrubby sunflower, grows abundantly on all the hills around, and affords excellent browsing for the cattle. Mayu †, whose pods furnish a dark powder that makes excellent writing-ink. Pimentella, a kind of sage, with splendid flowers but dull grey leaves, used for rheumatic pains. The quillo quilloe, or white lychnis and tornatilla, a mallow, are also used in medicine; and I saw in the house bundles of dried *Cachanlangue,* or lesser herb-centaury, which I was assured was a sovereign remedy in spitting blood. Besides all these useful plants, I had gathered the *Flor de Soldado,* (scarlet celsia,) the *Barba de Viejo,* a shrub with a small aggregate flower growing in clusters, and smelling like queen of the meadow, andromeda, and the lesser fuscia: so that, considering that it is not yet the season of flowers, I had been pretty successful. I am sorry I know so little of botany, because I am really fond of plants. But I love to see their habits, and to know their countries and their uses; and it appears to me that the nomenclature of botany is contrived to keep people at a distance from any real acquaintance with one of the most beautiful classes of objects in nature. What have harsh hundred syllabled names to do with such lovely things as roses, jasmines, and violets?

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* Such as Smith, in his botany, calls lyrate. See No. 59. in the plates of the leaves.

† Belongs to Linnæus's natural order, Lomentacea.

Wednesday, June 19th. — These few last days I have been less alone. My friend Miss H. is staying with me, and we have had many pleasant walks together; and I have become acquainted with several of the Chileno naval officers. Captain Foster, who was the senior captain, has given up his command, and, it is said, has tendered his resignation to the supreme government: he very kindly came the other day to superintend the putting up a stove in my little sitting room. I have hitherto used an open brasier, but, though very comfortable, the fumes of the charcoal must be hurtful; but with a stove, they pass off through the funnel. Several houses have now English stoves and grates, but the burning of coal is not yet very general. English coal is of course dear, and the coal from the province of Conception, which resembles the Scotch coal, is not yet worked to a sufficient extent to supply the market.

Of the officers actually belonging to the squadron, I have seen Captain Crosbie, Lord Cochrane's flag captain, a pleasant gentleman-like young Irishman, brave as Lord Cochrane's captain ought to be, and intelligent. Captain Cobbet, the nephew of *Cobbet*, with a great deal of the hard-headed sense of his uncle, and also, if all physiognomical presages are not false, endowed with no small share of his selfishness, owes every thing, education and promotion, both in the English navy and this, to Lord Cochrane, and has the reputation of being an excellent seaman: I find him polite, intelligent, and communicative. But the person who seems peculiarly to possess the information concerning all I want to know, is the physician of the O'Higgins, Dr. Craig. Skill in his profession, good sense, rational curiosity, and enthusiasm of character concealed under a shy exterior, render him a more interesting person than ninety-nine in a hundred to be met with on this side of Cape Horn; and I feel peculiarly happy in making his acquaintance.

It is not unpleasant to have one's solitude now and then broken in upon by persons who, like these, have characters of their own; but there is a sad proportion in the English society here of trash. However, as vulgarity, ignorance, and coarseness, often disguise kindness

of heart, and as I have experienced the latter from all, it scarcely becomes me to complain of the roughness of the coat of the pine-apple while enjoying the flavour of the fruit. * Of many of these I may say,—

> "That still they fill affection's eye,
> Obscurely wise and coarsely kind."

Yesterday a very interesting person sailed from hence for Lima, Mr. Thompson, one of those men whom real Christian philanthropy has led across the ocean and across the Andes to diffuse the benefits of education among his fellow-creatures. He had spent some time in Santiago, where, under the patronage of the supreme director, he has established a school of mutual instruction on the plan of Lancaster. He has been in Valparaiso some time superintending the formation of a similar school, to the maintenance of which part of the revenue of a suppressed monastery has been appropriated. The governor, with the Cabildo and military officers in procession, accompanied Mr. Thompson on the opening of the school, so that all the importance was given it that was possible, and I am happy to say with good effect. It is now, though so recent, well attended, and I have met many of the country people bringing in their children in the morning to go thither. † The immediate wants of Chile are education in the upper and middling classes, and a greater number of working hands. I ought, I suppose, to say productive labourers; but hands, both indirectly and directly productive, are wanting. Not a hundredth part of the soil is cultivated, and yet it produces from sixteen fold on the bare coast, to a hundred fold of wheat in the upper country; ordinarily sixty every where, and in some spots ninety of barley, and so on of maize; not to mention that the fruits transplanted hither seem to have adopted the soil, and even to improve in quality and in quantity in this favoured climate.

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*. Bishop Horne, speaking of Dr. Johnson, says, that "to refuse to acknowledge the merit of such a man on account of the coarseness of his behaviour, what is it but to throw away the pine-apple, and to allege for a reason the roughness of its coat?"

† Mr. Thompson has been solemnly declared a free citizen of Chile by the government.

20th. — To-day, being anxious to procure a variety of scene for my young friend, we walked to what is usually called the flower-garden here, and I, at least, highly enjoyed the day. On reaching the house of the mistress of the garden, we found her seated on the brick bench before the door. She appears very old: her hair, which fell in a single braid down her back, being perfectly grey. She is tall and hale-looking, and soon summoned three of her five daughters to receive us. The youngest of these appeared to be at least fifty, tall, muscular, well made, with the remains of decided beauty, with an elastic step and agreeable voice: they stepped forward bearing carpets for us to sit on, and oranges to refresh us. The other two, of scarcely less imposing appearance, joined us, and invited us to walk into the garden. As yet none of the cultivated flowers appear, but the taste of these women has adorned their arboleda, or orchard, of peach, cherry, and plum, with all the wild flowers of the neighbourhood, some of which grow almost into the little stream that runs through the grounds, and others twine up the stems of the fruit trees now beginning to blossom. I wish, however, all this was more neatly kept. Even Eve weeded her garden, and Adam was commanded to *dress* as well as to dig the ground. They showed us a beautiful green spot, in a recess formed by two hills, where the young and pretty Lady Cochrane used to bring her parties to dine, and enjoy the country scenery. Her gaiety and liveliness seemed to have produced a strong impression on the natives, who talk of her with admiration and regret. On returning to the house we passed through the more private garden, and I saw, for the first time, the lucuma (*Achræs Lucumo*), a fruit rare here, but sufficiently abundant in Coquimbo, and which flourishes well in Quillota. The seed, which resembles a chesnut, is enveloped in a pulp, like the medlar in substance, and of an agreeable sweetish flavour. There is also the chirimoya, (an *Anonna*, *) so famous in Peru; it is a better kind of custard apple, and the trees bear a strong resemblance to

* One of the coadunatæ of Linnæus's natural method.

each other. We found our old lady sitting where we had left her, distributing advice and plants of various kinds to two or three women and children, who had collected round her while we were in the garden :

> For herbs she knew, and well of each could speak,
> That in her garden sipped the silvery dew,
> *Where many a flower displayed its* gaudy streak
> With herbs for use, and physic not a few,
> Of grey renown, within whose borders grew
> The tufted basil, pun-provoking thyme,
> Fresh baum, and marigold of cheerful hue,
> The lowly gill that never dares to climb;
> And more I fain would sing, disdaining here to rhyme.

Among the little girls were two fishermen's children with laver, another sort of sea-weed, and several kinds of shell-fish for sale, some of which I had never seen before; and upon my saying so, my young companion and I were asked to come some day to eat of them dressed in the country fashion. It was too late to-day to prepare any; but we were so earnestly pressed to come back after our intended walk to the Quebrada, farther on, and partake of the family dinner, that I, loving to see all things, readily consented; and accordingly returned at two o'clock to the flower-garden house.

We found the mother sitting alone on the estrada, supported by her cushions, with a small low round table before her, on which was spread a cotton cloth, by no means clean. The daughters only served their mother; but ate their own meals in the kitchen by the fire. We were accommodated with seats at the old lady's table. The first dish that appeared was a small platter of melted marrow, into which we were invited to dip the bread that had been presented to each, the old lady setting the example, and even presenting bits thoroughly sopped, with her fingers, to Miss H., who contrived to pass them on to a puppy who sat behind her. I, not being so near, escaped better; besides, as I really did not dislike the marrow, though I wished in vain for the addition of pepper and salt, I dipped my bread most diligently, and ate heartily. The bread in Chile is

not good after the first day. The native bakers usually put suet or lard into it, so that it tastes like cake; a few French bakers, however, make excellent bread; but that we had to-day was of the country, and assimilated well with the melted marrow. After this *apetizer*, as my countrymen would call it, a large dish of charqui-can was placed before us. It consists of fresh beef very much boiled, with pieces of charqui or dried beef, slices of dried tongue, and pumkin, cabbage, potatoes, and other vegetables, in the same dish. Our hostess immediately began eating from the dish with her fingers, and invited us to do the same; but one of her daughters brought us each a plate and fork, saying she knew that such was our custom. However, the old lady persisted in putting delicate pieces on our plates with her thumb and finger. The dish was good, and well cooked. It was succeeded by a fowl which was torn to pieces with the hands; and then came another fowl cut up, and laid on sippets strewed with chopped herbs; and then giblets; and then soup; and, lastly, a bowl of milk, and a plate of *Harina de Yalli*, that is, flour made from a small and delicate kind of maize. Each being served with a cup of the milk, we stirred the flour into it; and I thought it excellent from its resemblance to milk brose. Our drink was the wine of the country; and on going out to the veranda after dinner, apples and oranges were offered to us. As it was not yet time for the old lady to take her siesta, I took the opportunity of asking her concerning the belief of the people of the country as to witches. There is something in her appearance, when surrounded by her five tall daughters, that irresistibly put me in mind of the weird sisters, and I felt half inclined to ask what they were that "look'd not like th' inhabitants of earth, and yet were on it." If I had done so, instead of asking the simple question I did, my hostess could not have looked more shocked: she crossed herself, took up the scapulary of the Merced, which she kissed*; and then said, "There have been such things as witches,

* This scapulary is a bit of cloth or silk, on one side of which is embroidered a white cross, on a red ground; and on the other, the arms of Arragon: this is hung round the

but it would be mortal sin to believe or consult them; from which, may our lady defend me and mine:" and little more was to be got from her on that subject, though she launched out at great length into a history of saints and miracles, wrought particularly against the heretics; especially the Russians, in favour of the faithful Spaniards. I find, however, that witches here do much the same things as in Europe; they influence the birth of animals, nay, even of children; spoil milk, wither trees, and control the winds. It is scarcely thirty years since the master of a trading ship was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition for making a passage of thirty-five days from Lima, a time then considered too short to have performed the voyage in without preternatural assistance. The people here are so Spanish in their habits, that it would be difficult for any one to detect what portion of their superstitions, their manners, or customs, are derived from the aboriginal Chilenos; and it is particularly so to me, as I have never been in Old Spain; so that where the manners differ from those of the peasantry in Italy, I am equally ignorant whether that difference arises from the Spanish Moresco, or the Chileno ancestry of the people.

The superstitions and the cookery of to-day are both decidedly Spanish, though some of the materials for both are aboriginal Americans: no bad type, I fancy, of the character of the nation.

24th, St. John's day. — The balmy *nucca* drop* of the midnight, between the eve of St. John and this day, seems to have fallen here: all is gay and idle, every body walking about in holyday-clothes. I am sorry, however, to find that the time of the Spaniards is talked of with some little lingering regret. The present government, by suppressing a great many of the religious shows, has certainly re-

neck, and put me in mind of the Brahminee thread. On the day of the Assumption, those who have joined that Hermandad, or society, pay two reals, and one more monthly, for the right of burial in the consecrated ground of the Merced. The scapulary is the receipt the holy brothers give for the money received.

* The drop which falls from heaven, and stops the plague in Egypt. Persons under the influence of witchcraft are freed by it, &c. &c. See all oriental tales, and though among the latest, yet the loveliest, Paradise and the Peri.

lieved the people from a heavy tax, but then it has curtailed their accustomed amusements; and in a climate such as this, where constant labour is not necessary to support life, some consideration ought to be had to the necessity of amusement for those classes, especially where purely mental entertainment is nothing. The festival of St. Peter, peculiarly adapted to a maritime place, should not, I think, have been abolished. On his day, his statue, kept in the Iglesia Matriz, used to be solemnly brought out and placed in an ornamented goleta, decked with flags and ribbons, and gilding, and attendant images. The goleta, manned by fishermen, was rowed round the harbour, followed by all the fishing boats and canoes. Bands of music were stationed on each point bounding the bay; and when the goleta reached them, rockets and guns saluted it.

I have often admired the wisdom of Venice with regard to its festivals; there was scarcely one of the church that was not converted into a national monument. On the feast of the Purification, was celebrated the seizure and recapture of the brides of Venice, under the name of the Marias, which has furnished the subject of tales and poems in all languages. The ceremonies of the last day of the carnival commemorated the suppression of an internal division in the city. But among a thousand others, the greatest, in every sense, was that celebrated on the day of the Ascension, when the doge, proceeding in the Bucentaur to the open sea, solemnly espoused the Adriatic, in commemoration of the triumphant return of the Doge Urseoli on the day of the Ascension, after having subjected the whole of the Adriatic to Venice.* It may be said, that to engraft the sacred feelings of patriotism thus upon the stock of superstition, only fosters the latter; and that the enlightened policy of this age, ought to be superior to the temporising spirit which such a union demands. But the people are, perhaps, nowhere sufficiently enlightened to be altogether in-

* See the "Origine delle Feste Veneziane," by one whom I am proud to have seen and known, whose knowledge, as displayed in her work, is the least of her merits, but whose truly patriotic feeling for her ruined country must find an echo in every breast. Need I add the name of JUSTINA RENIER MICHIELE?

sensible to show, to amusement, and to external associations. Is it not, therefore, wise to turn these shows and associations to the account of patriotism? And is it not more probable that the superstition will be forgotten, while the near and almost personal feelings that belong to national triumph strengthen with time. Shakspeare understood the value of such associations, when he makes Harry the Fifth say —

> " Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered."

And who in England has forgotten Agincourt? But who, besides the shoemakers, ever thinks of St. Crispin?

Chile is so obviously a maritime country, shut up as she is to landward, by the Andes from the eastern provinces, and the desert of Atacama from those to the north, that I would, were I its legislator, turn every feeling and passion towards the sea. St. Peter's day should be a national and naval spectacle: I would distribute prizes to fishermen and boatmen; I would bestow honorary rewards on officers; I would receive and answer petitions and representations from all connected with the sea; in short, I would, on that day, let them feel that the protection of government went hand in hand with that of religion over the most useful, and therefore the most favoured class of Chileno citizens.

June 25th. — I went with a party to the Lagunilla, a small fresh-water lake formed from the waters of several little streams, and divided from the sea only by a bank of sand: the road into the valley of the lake is good, but the steepest I ever recollect riding. On leaving Valparaiso, from which the lake is three leagues distant, we found ourselves on a high table land, whence we enjoyed a magnificent view of the central Andes on one hand, and the coast with all its harbours and bays on the other. The little bay of the Lagunilla is said not to be safe for ships, who always make it in coming from the southward. At the bottom of the valley we found a Rancho, which just now looks poor and miserable: but it is the poor time of year;

the provisions laid up for the season are nearly exhausted, that is, all but mere necessaries. Everything in the shape of luxury is gone; and the peasant waits, not impatiently however, (for the Chilenos are good-humoured and gay,) for the return of the season that brings his apples to render his bread more palatable, and the green boughs to refresh his sheds and his hedges, which, since the crop was taken off his garden-ground, have gradually disappeared to feed his fire. We had sent a mule laden with provisions to the spot, and some of our party had shot some partridges, which were dressed at the Rancho. Our tablecloth was spread in a pleasant green place, and we dined within hearing of the little rill that murmurs down the valley, rendering it green and fertile. A few fruit trees grew among the huge blocks of stone, that in its winter fury it has washed from the neighbouring mountain. It was the first party I had joined since my arrival, and I had done it with reluctance, because I am scarcely yet fit company for the young and the cheerful; but I am glad I did so. Fine weather, exercise, and agreeable scenery, must do good both to mind and body; I feel better than I had ever hoped to be when I first landed on these shores.

As we returned, we perceived an English frigate, the Aurora, just going into Valparaiso from Brazil; she saluted Lord Cochrane's flag as she entered. His Lordship himself is still in Santiago; the world says, occupied in endeavouring to obtain from the justice of the government the arrears of pay and prize money for the squadron. Some of his friends, I think injudiciously, and I am confident untruly, talk of him as interfering with the new government regulations to be made. Others, perhaps better informed, represent his business to be the refutation of the absurd charges brought against him by San Martin.* These charges have proceeded from the basest motives: envy of his reputation, jealousy of his actions, and fear of his resentment; besides the unwise anger occasioned by his esteeming it "more honourable to show marks of open displeasure, than to en-

* See p. 99. of the Introduction.

" tertain secret hatred," on the discovery of San Martin's infamous designs against the state he had sworn to serve. These charges are so frivolous, so mean, so paltry, so much what a thief at the foot of the gallows would be apt to lay against an innocent man who had offended him, that I have always felt that, in this case, to vindicate the integrity and freedom from corruption of such a man, would be an affront to his virtues.*

27th.— I paid a visit to Madame Zenteno the governor's lady, a pleasing, lively little woman, who received me very politely, and sent for her husband, who came immediately, and seemed delighted to display the English comforts of the apartment I was received in. An English carpet, an English grate, and even English coals, were all very agreeable on this cold raw day. Zenteno assured me that he found a fire thus burned in an open stove was the best promoter of conversation, and regretted the many years he had passed without even guessing at its comforts. He is properly anxious to promote a taste for the elegancies of civilised life; but under any other circumstances, I should say that there was even a little affectation in his great admiration for everything English. However, the people of Valparaiso are indebted to him for considerable improvements in the roads and streets; and a plan for a new market-place, as soon as the funds will permit, is to be carried into execution. These things seem little to Europeans. But they forget that this Valparaiso, one of the greatest ports on this side of the vast continent of South America, is little more in appearance than an English fishing town. SIDMOUTH is a capital city in comparison. From the governor's house I went to the jail, a strong uncomfortable building now empty. The prisoners are transferred to the hospital of San Juan de Dios; and I am ashamed to say the Spanish prisoners from Lima, sent by San Martin, are there also, along with the common felons. The Spaniards were in so wretched a condition on their arrival, that the English inhabitants, in order to save them from starving, have raised a

* Aikin's translation of the life of Agricola.

subscription; and one of the merchants daily sees their food distributed.

29th.—The Independencia, one of the Chileno squadron, came in to-day. She was left by Lord Cochrane on the coast to the northward, for the purposes of surveying, aiding the cause of independence, and procuring provisions.* The Araucana had been left with her, but while she was detached on a particular service to the Bay of Lorero, the captain and others being on shore on duty, the master, gunner, and boatswain mutinied, seized the ship, and having landed all the Chilenos, and such English as would not join them, at Dolores, they, with sixteen men, sailed, and have not since been heard of. Forty-seven of the crew, under the captain, are preserved to the service; and it is remarkable that there was not a Chileno among the deserters.

The Independencia has brought some good surveys, and in some cases has been of use to the good cause, by encouraging the coast towns to declare their adherence to the independent governments, in whose territories they are situated. It is however to be regretted, that the intemperate behaviour of one of the officers, for which indeed he atoned with his life, occasioned some disturbances, which must, I fear, have a bad effect.

39th.—To-day 300 of the prisoners from Lima were sent off to Santiago, some on foot, and others, whose age and infirmities rendered it impossible for them to march, in waggons. Among the latter, one old man with thin grey hair was seated, and was heard to apostrophise the sea, whose shores he was leaving, as the only road to his native country; and feebly lamenting, he sat carelessly on the edge of the vehicle; when, just as it turned to go up the first cuesta, he fell and died on the spot,—it was not of the fall, but of a broken

* All the orders to procure provisions for the Chile squadron, most particularly enjoin that they shall be duly paid for; or in case of its not being possible to do so, to use force only with regard to public property under Spanish colours, carefully respecting all private claims. (See orders to Araucana, &c.) Such has been the constant practice of the squadron, while under Lord Cochrane.

heart. His companions say, that, with the word Spain on his lips, he died in the cart and then fell. These are things to make the heart ache; and the more painfully, as that the evil comes not from the ordinary course of nature, wherein men's sufferings and trials come proportioned to their strength, or from that high hand which is merciful as powerful; but from man — man who preys upon his fellows; and who to cruelty adds hypocrisy, and commits his crimes in the sacred name of virtue.* The story of these prisoners combines all that is base and cruel, and cowardly; but when was a cruel man brave! †

It is the festival of Nuestra Señora del Pilar *La Avogada de los Marineros.* How could I do otherwise than observe it? I went to my old friend at the flower-garden, who is commonly called La Chavelita; and, as I knew she intended being at the ceremony which takes place at the church of the Merced, I obtained permission to accompany her; and the afternoon was productive of considerable amusement and information, which I could not have obtained without such a companion. In the first place, I do not know if I should otherwise ever have had courage to go into a ventana or wine-house, which I did to-day. We arrived at the church-door too early; and, after walking up and down the space proposed for the procession, we went to the said ventana, which is exactly opposite to the church. I imagined, at first, that it was a private house belonging to a friend of La Chavelita; and the table at the door set out with fruit and cakes for sale, seemed to me to be only a compliment to the festival. On entering a very large room, with benches round three sides and a brassero in the middle, I saw on the fourth side of the apartment, a table covered with jugs and bottles, containing various kinds of liquor, and glasses of different sizes by them. On one of the benches sat two religious of the order of the Merced, with their long, full, white robes with black crosses and enormous hats, smoking and talking

* We all remember the exclamation of Madame Roland, in passing the statue of Liberty: "Oh Liberté! que de crimes on commet en ton nom."

† See p. 88. of the Introduction.

politics. The exile of the bishop; the probable effect of the expected assembly on church affairs; and some murmuring at the choice of the provincial of the church of San Domingo, Don Celidon Marques, as deputy for Valparaiso, while the worthier brethren of the Merced had been neglected, were their principal themes. Our entrance interrupted them for an instant; when, after a few minutes whispering, in which I now and then heard the words *Viuda Inglez*, they resumed their politics; and then, having finished their segars, walked out. Meantime I had observed several elderly fat women running about, and mixing various liquors, and carrying them into several inner apartments; some of these liquors I tasted. Little spirits or wine was called for; but several kinds of sherbet, the best of which is Luca, were in great request. The Luca, is an infusion of Culen, Canela *wild cinnamon*, with a little syrup, and is said to be as wholesome as it is pleasant. The house shortly began to fill. Company after company of young men arrived, and were shown into different rooms, and I then found out where I was. Some parties called for dinners of so many dishes, others for wine; some for sweet drinks and cakes, and music; and all for segars. Some good-looking girls now made their appearance, and with guitars entered the rooms where music had been ordered. Soon we heard the sound of singing and dancing, and I was quite satisfied that every body was happy and merry, and left the place, persuaded that the evening would be still gayer, and that the dances I had often seen among the very common people in the smallest public-houses, as I rode through the Almendral at night, are practised, though more privately, by the decenter sort, in these more quiet houses. Gambling is very common here among the lower orders as well as among the gentry. Every rude nation gambles; every very refined people does the same. The savage has in the intervals of hunting and making war too much leisure; life stagnates, he must have a stimulus — he gambles. The gentleman of civilised society needs not hunt for his subsistence; and, if he does not do it for exercise, he also, to procure that stimulus which seems necessary to existence, gambles. Com-

mercial speculations and war are only gambling on a larger scale. Intellectual pleasures alone supply sufficient stimulus to exertion and excitement to curiosity, on which gambling to see the end principally depends, and leave man the richer and better for the exercise. Several games are played here so like the games of Europe, and of the East, that they must of course have been imported by the Spaniards. The sort of golf played on horseback in Persia, is played in the same manner here. * Cards, dice, and billiards, are seen within doors; bowls and skittles, and flying kites, which is equally the sport of the old and young, are exercised in the open air. One kind of bowls is new to me. The space of playing is always under a shed. A frame of wood being laid down, a floor of clay, about 30 feet long by from 15 to 18 feet broad, is very nicely laid, the frame-work rising about six inches, or from that to a foot, round the whole; a ring fixed on a pivot and turning with the slightest touch, is placed about one-third from the upper end of the floor; the player seats himself on the frame at the opposite end, and endeavours to send his bowl through the ring without striking it. This is a very favourite game, and I am persuaded that few of the neighbouring peons do not lose and win, not only all their money, but even their clothes at it, half-a-dozen times every year.

It was now time, however, to repair to the church. And there, kneeling before the high altar, we heard the mass to our lady of the glittering brow, and prayed for the safety of the living seamen, and for the souls of those who were gone. I cannot and I will not think it unlawful to join in such prayers; and I never felt my devotion more fervent: but I was soon roused from it to join in the procession, and then, indeed, I felt my Protestant prejudices return. Our lady was taken out dressed in brown satin, and jewels of value, and carried towards the sea, through a lane formed of boughs of green myrtle and bay. Here and there was a shrine at which she stopped, and a chaunt

* This is said to have been an Aboriginal game: till the arrival of the Spaniards, it was played on foot; but since the horse was introduced, every thing is done on horseback in this country.

was sung. Then, having thus visited San Josef, Santa Dolores, and Santa Geltrudes, she was carried back at sunset to her own altar, and the Ave Maria Stella was sung. The paltry decoration of the saints here discovers, by daylight, the hideousness of the superstition: the looking glasses and the toys are coarse and inelegant. Now, night had come on, all this was hid, "Ave Maria Stella" brought back Italy and that magic power, which even in her decrepitude throws lustre over her, to my mind. How many a balmy evening I have listened with delight to the voices singing Ave Maria in the modulated tones of Italy, while Rome herself was hushed at the moment into religious, awful silence: all save the chaunt mingled with the noise of the fountains. Of all the characters of the Virgin I love this best: —

"Star of the dark and stormy sea,
Where wrecking tempests round us rave,
Thy gentle virgin form we see
Bright rising o'er the hoary wave.
The howling storms that seemed to crave
Their victims, sink in music sweet;
And surging seas retreat to pave
The path beneath thy glistering feet."

Ave Maria Stella. *

July 1st. — Late last-night His Majesty's ship Alacrity came in from Lima, and brought me letters from my friends of the Doris. She also brought intelligence concerning Lima, which confirms all that we have heard of the hateful though plausible San Martin. It is well known that the merchant Don Pedro Abadia, besides being one of the richest merchants in South America, was also one of the most enlightened, liberal, and respectable men. For this excellent person San Martin had always professed the greatest friendship, and made use of his knowledge and talents in the regulation of his custom-houses and his taxes. But having obtained his end thus far, the riches of Abadia excited his cupidity, and he proceeded by the basest

* From the beautiful translation of a Portuguese hymn, by my lamented friend Dr. Leyden.

treachery to procure an excuse for arresting him. Knowing that an immense property of Abadia's was in the hands of the royalists at Pasco, San Martin instructed two monks to go to him and offer to convey such letters to the commanders of the Spanish troops as might, at least, prevent the absolute ruin of the property, which chiefly consisted in mines, and in most expensive machinery which he had imported from England, with the idea and the hope of improving the country by the introduction of such machinery into it. The monks of course betrayed Abadia. He was thrown into prison, and tried before a tribunal instituted by San Martin. Yet, as his letters had been strictly confined to the business of his estates and machinery, he was acquitted, although the sentence was sent back more than once for revisal. However, before he was liberated, he was forced to pay an immense fine; and his wife and children were detained as hostages for his banishing himself to Panama, or some place not nearer. He took refuge on board the Alacrity, and then went into the Doris, where he won the esteem and regard of every person on board both ships. San Martin has vulgarly been said to drink: I believe this is not true; but he is an opium eater, and his starts of passion are so frequent and violent, that no man feels his head safe. Every thing is given to the soldiers, therefore his government is popular with them; but it is precarious, and it is thought not impossible that Lacerna, the royalist general, may recover Lima; in which case, it is expected that he will declare Peru independent, and dismiss by fair means or foul the Exercito Libertador. It is true that military despotism is the greatest curse under which a nation can suffer. But it never lasts long. One change has been effected, therefore the possibility of another is proved: the bands of tyranny are slackened; and the people will grow, and be educated, a little roughly perhaps, but knowledge will advance; and, as knowledge is power, they will, at no distant period, be able to shake off the tyranny both of foreign governments and domestic despots, and to compel their rulers to acknowledge that they were made for the people, and not the people for them.

July 2d. — To-day, as I was standing on the hill behind my house admiring the beautiful landscape before me, and the shadows over the sea as the clouds rolled swiftly along, and sometimes concealed and sometimes displayed the cliffs of Valparaiso, the scene was rendered more grand by the firing a salute from the Aurora, the smoke from which, after creeping in fleecy whiteness along the water, gradually dilated into volumes of grey cloud, and mixed with the vapours that lay on the bosoms of the hills. This salute was in honour of Lord Cochrane, who had gone on board that frigate on his return from Santiago. His Lordship rode down to my house in the evening to tea. He tells me he has leave of absence for four months, with the schooner Montezuma at his disposal, and that he means to go to visit the estate in Conception decreed to him by the government long ago; but from which he has, as yet, derived no advantage, although it is one of the most fertile of that fertile province. The truth is, it is so near the Indians' frontier, and so exposed to their depredations, that it has lain for some years unoccupied, and the produce has been only in part gathered in. The bringing such an estate again into cultivation would be a public much more than a private benefit. The very example of so courageous an undertaking would do much; and, in a short time, it might be hoped that that delightful land, which has suffered more than any of the other provinces, will once more be what it was when Villa Rica was its capital, and when the author of Robinson Crusoe, collecting the narratives of the English adventurers of his day concerning the southern part of Chile, described this province as the terrestrial paradise, and the inhabitants as beings worthy to possess it. *

July 7th. — Yesterday morning I rode early to the port, on Lord Cochrane's invitation, to join a party which was to sail with him in the steam-vessel, the Rising-star, to his estate of Quintero, which lies due north from this place about twenty miles, though the road by land, being round the bay of Concon, is thirty.

* See De Foe's New Voyage round the World.

Our company consisted of Don Jose Zenteno, governor of Valparaiso; his daughter Señora donna Dolores; the honourable Captain Frederick Spencer, of His Majesty's ship Alacrity; Captain Crosbie, Captain Wilkinson, some other officers of the Patriot squadron with whom I am not acquainted, besides some other gentlemen. The admiral went on board with me about ten o'clock. The first thing I did was to visit the machinery, which consists of two steam-engines, each of forty-five horse power, and the wheels covered so as not to show in the water from without. The vessel is a fine polacre, and was in great forwardness before Lord Cochrane came here, but only arrived in these seas this year. It was with no small delight that I set my foot on the deck of the first steam-vessel that ever navigated the Pacific, and I thought, with exultation, of the triumphs of man over the obstacles nature seems to have placed between him and the accomplishment of his imaginations. With what rapture would the breast of Almagro have been filled, if some magician could have shown him, in the enchanted glass of futurity, the port of Valparaiso filled with vessels from Europe, and from Asia, and from states not yet in existence, and our stately vessel gliding smooth and swiftly through them without a sail, against the wind and waves, carrying on her decks a stronger artillery than he ever commanded, and bearing on board a hero whose name, even in Peru and Chile, was to surpass, not only his own, but those of his more famed companions, the Pizarros.

The cruel policy of Spain with regard to these countries always repressed any attempt at establishing a coasting trade, although the shores of Chile abound with harbours most commodious for the purpose. Hence, these harbours were either not surveyed or so erroneously set down in the published maps as to deter ships of all nations, Spanish as well as others, from attempting them, and the whole traffic is carried on over some of the most difficult roads in the world by mules. For instance, the copper of Coquimbo, which in a direct line lies only three degrees and a half from Valparaiso, is all conveyed by a very mountainous and stony road on the backs of mules;

while not a boat is employed for carriage. The enormous taxes laid on water carriage under the name of port dues, &c. in Valparaiso, and which bear more upon small vessels conveying even provisions than any others, prevents not only the trade which should be a nursery for the seamen of Chile, but also the cultivation of many fertile tracts along the coast. The nearness of the mountains to the shore, and their very abrupt descent, prevent the existence of very large rivers or such as are navigable for any extent, but the mouths of the smaller streams form little harbours, whence the produce of their astonishingly fertile banks being floated down from the interior might be embarked with convenience. Yet I do not know one, where any thing approaching to a coasting trade is encouraged. Hence, the coal of Conception, though abundant and good, and worked within 300 miles, is dearer in Valparaiso than that brought from England. Hence, too, the tracts of alluvial soil, washed from the nearer hills by the winter rains, and kept fruitful by the fresh lakes which are formed every where by those rains collecting in the valleys, are left uncultivated, though fit for the production of every vegetable; and now these tracts only contribute to the summer grazing of the cattle; whereas, if applied to the culture of the more nourishing and productive vegetables, sheep, concerning which the greatest difficulty here is winter fodder, might be encouraged to any extent; and the wool, which is of excellent quality, would become a valuable article of trade. But who will grow turnip or beet, when he must pay as much for the harbour dues of a boat to carry it to market as the whole culture has cost? Or who will feed sheep when the wool, if dyed or manufactured, pays a duty on exportation higher than the price of cloths imported into the country? I particularly recollect that at Coquimbo, in the Copper-mine country, Don Felipe de Solar paid more in duty upon some copper vessels that he was exporting than the price of equally good and weighty articles imported from Bengal. This is a direct and most oppressive tax on industry, and by its effects retards the population of the country, as well as its civilisation. These reflections were suggested naturally by the sight of

the little harbours and creeks of the shore as we passed rapidly along, and by our situation on board the first vessel that has brought to these seas the most complete triumph of the genius of man over the obstacles presented by brute matter. I trust the time is not far distant, when the Rising Star will not be the only steam-vessel on the coast, and that the wise and benevolent views with which she was brought out will be fulfilled. * Nothing can be better adapted for packets on these coasts. The regular winds which now force ships out as far as Juan Fernandez, in order to make a reasonable passage from Lima to Valparaiso, are never so strong as to hinder the working of a steam ship; and the facility of communication between these as well as the intermediate ports would not only promote their commercial interests, but be a means of security against the attempts of any enemy these countries have to fear from abroad. As long as Europe continues quiet, and until Spain recovers from the madness of civil dissension, perhaps South America is safe enough from foreign invasion: but if any of the powers that have not acknowledged the independence of the states should go to war with Spain, who can say whether, availing themselves of not having made that acknowledgement, they might not be disposed to seize on some part of them as provinces *de jure* belonging to the mother-country; and I confess that a French invasion (for I will not think England so wicked) would be a most fearful misfortune to these rising states, and one from which nothing but a naval force could defend them.

I had as much conversation with Zenteno as my yet imperfect knowledge of Spanish would permit. He seems truly desirous of the good of Chile; but wonderfully unknowing in those things which would most contribute to it. The morning, however, passed pleasantly away; and we sat down to a table which Europe and America equally supplied with luxuries; and amused ourselves, perhaps un-

* All the materials for two smaller steam-vessels were carried to Valparaiso; but I find that instead of constructing them properly on their arrival, the machinery has been left in the warehouse which first received it, and the timber applied to the building a *ministerial trader*, by which Zenteno and his partner have made large sums.—1824.

seasonably, with the gluttony of the curate of Placilia, a village near the mouth of the little river Ligua, which runs into the bay of Quintero, and on whose banks lies the town of La Ligua, famous for its pasture, and its breed of horses. The poor curate, who had on various occasions been treated with English beer by his foreign friends, now took Champagne for *white beer*, and drank it accordingly, vowing he would grant absolution unconditionally for a hundred years, to all who drank of such divine liquor, and would doubtless have made a second Caliban of himself, and worshipped the bottle-bearer, but for an accident that rendered us all a little grave. A small bolt in the machinery gave way, principally from imperfect fitting, as this was the first time the machinery had been fairly tried in these seas; and our voyage was stopped just as we were nearly abreast of Quintero. The wind was a-head; but we were so near that it was voted almost by acclamation that we should go on, and accordingly we trusted to the tide to take us into port. But —

—— " foresight may be vain;
The best laid schemes of mice and men
Gang aft agee."

The evening closed in, and it was a dull, raw, foggy night: those not accustomed to the sea grew faint and weary. The curate, and other partakers of the *white beer*, began to feel its effects, combined with those of the motion of the vessel, now considerably agitated by the waves, which began to rise obedient to a very fresh contrary wind which had sprung up; and all agreed to retire to rest. Shortly after the strangers were in bed, the sails which had not been bent, so sure had we been of making our passage, were got to the yards, and the first thing that happened was, that the two chimneys belonging to the engines went through the foresail. Then the wind and weather increased, and the furniture began to roll about; and at last, in the morning, we found ourselves farther than ever from our place of destination. However, breakfast gave us courage; and it was determined to persevere a few hours longer: but the weather grew worse and worse; the sky became blacker and blacker,

" Till in the scowl of heav'n each face
Grew dark as he was speaking."

So at length we bore up for Valparaiso, and landed there at two o'clock to-day.

A great pleasure awaited us, and almost consoled us for the failure of our expedition; that is, if ever public news consoles one for private disappointment. Mr. Hogan met me on the beach with the joyful intelligence that the Congress of the United States had acknowledged the independence of the Spanish American colonies of Mexico, Columbia, Buenos Ayres, Peru, and Chile. This is indeed a step gained, and so naturally too, as to be worth twenty, where there could have been a suspicion of intrigue: but the United States, themselves so lately emancipated from the thraldom of the mother-country, are the natural assertors of the independence of their American brethren; and the moral of the political history of the times would have been less striking had any other state set the example. *

I dined at Mr. ———'s, and in the evening Lord Cochrane joined our party, and we shortly after had a scene that I at least shall never forget. His Lordship's secretary, Mr. Bennet, arrived from Santiago, whither he had been on business, and brought with him Col. Don Fausto del Hoyo. This gentleman had been taken prisoner by Lord Cochrane at Valdivia; and His Lordship had obtained from the government a promise of generous treatment for the Colonel. However, after the Admiral sailed, the same unjust and cruel restrictions were laid on him, as on all the other prisoners of war of every rank. He was thrust into a dark dungeon, and there detained without fire, without light, without books, as if the cruel treatment of individual prisoners could have forced Old Spain to acknowledge the independence of Chile! He had now been liberated on parole by Lord Cochrane's intervention; and never, never, shall I forget the fervent expression of acknowledgment, not in words indeed, with which he

* It was not until the 10th of August that we received the direct intelligence of the vote of Congress for the acknowledgment of the independence of Chile, which was passed by a majority of 191, against only *one* dissentient voice; in the Senate, 37 ayes, 17 noes.

met his generous conqueror, nor the gentle and modest manner in which they were received and put an end to by His Lordship. After this had passed, I did not wonder that, notwithstanding our disappointment in the steam-vessel, His Lordship appeared in better spirits than I have yet seen him in.

July 8th.— To-day, a young man born in Cundinamarca, but brought up in Quito, came to stay with me, that I may put him in the way of improving a great natural talent for drawing. He has been long on board Lord Cochrane's ship, in I know not what capacity, and has displayed considerable taste in some sketches of costume, &c. The people of Quito pride themselves on retaining that excellence in painting which distinguished their predecessors of the time of Pizarro. Of course the Christian priests have introduced European models and European practice; but the talent for the imitative arts is said to be inherent in all, or almost all the Quiteños; and it is certain that the painters, whether of portraits or history, that are to be met with in various parts of South America, are almost universally Quiteños. My scholar is gentle and persevering; rather indolent; possessed of good sense, and a strong poetical feeling. If I had him in Europe, where he could see good pictures, and above all, good drawings, I have no doubt but he would be a painter; as it is, seeing nothing much better than his own, there is little chance of very great improvement. I have heard extravagant praises of the pictures of various South American painters; but these were given by persons who probably never saw a first-rate picture in Europe, especially as they often in the same breath extolled their sculpture also to the skies. Now, on enquiry, I found that all the sculpture practised here consists in carving the heads, hands, and feet of the saints to be dressed: these are painted afterwards, and I have no doubt give a strong impression of reality; but that is not sculpture. It perhaps may come near to Shakspeare's Hermione, the maker of which "would beguile nature of her custom, so perfectly is he her *ape*." But sculpture is not the ape, but the perfecter of nature; so I hear with distrust all these splendid accounts of the

pictures and sculpture by native hands that adorn the churches of Quito and Lima. Such as I have seen here, in the ceiling of the Merced for instance, are well for the place; and are evidently the work of some of the Spanish monks, who have decorated their churches with as much of splendour in the taste of Europe as their circumstances would permit. The likenesses I have seen are certainly a degree better than the portraits of China, but they are equally stiff; and though the Madonas have an air of grace something like those ancient ones painted before the revival of art, they are ill drawn, and, above every thing, the extremities are hardly defined at all. I do not believe that there is a single painter, native or foreigner, now in the whole of Chile. I am sorry that they have something of more pressing importance than the fine arts to attend to.

July 10*th*. — Capt. ——— breakfasted with me, and afterwards was so kind as to accompany me in a round of calls, by way of returning the visits of the English ladies here. It is curious, at this distance from home, to see specimens of such people as one meets no where else but among the Brangtons, in Madame D'Arblay's Cecilia, or the Mrs. Eltons of Miss Austin's admirable novels; and yet these are, after all, the people most likely to be here. The country is new; the government unacknowledged by our own; the merchants are chiefly such as sell by commission, for houses established in larger and older states; and, as all Englishmen, from the highest to the lowest, love to have their *home* with them, the clerks, who fall naturally into these sort of employments, either bring or find suitable wives: therefore society, as far as relates to the English, is of a very low tone. The sympathies of the heart, however, are as lively here as in more polished circles; and, while one turns one moment in disgust from the man who familiarly calls his wife by one nickname, and his daughter by another; yet the next, one looks at him with respect as the benevolent receiver and comforter of the sick and the dying, whose house has been the asylum, and his family the attendants, of more than one of his countrymen, who have ended their being thus far from their friends and native land.

16*th.* — We have had two slight shocks of an earthquake to-day. The sensations occasioned by them are particularly disagreeable. In all other convulsions of nature it seems possible to do, or at least attempt, something to avert danger. We steer the ship in a storm for a port; our conductors promise to lead the lightning harmless from our heads: but the earthquake seems to rock the very foundations of the globe, and escape or shelter seems equally impossible. The physical effect too is unpleasant — it resembles sea-sickness. The frequency of earthquakes here by no means renders the people insensible to their occurrence. In the streets of Valparaiso, I recollect seeing them run out, fall upon their knees, and pray to all the saints. Here, in the country, the peasants leave off work, pull off their hats, beat their breasts, and cry *Misericordia*, and all leave their houses. One of the shocks to-day lasted nearly a minute; it was accompanied by a loud noise, like the sudden escape of vapour from a close place. It is said that earthquakes are most frequent about the beginning of the rainy season. Some however, I know not on what data, have fixed on the months of October and November as most liable to them. Some writers have asserted, that the provinces of Copiapo and Coquimbo are exempt from them; yet twice within the last five years Coquimbo has been totally destroyed, and Copiapo seriously injured, and once nearly ruined. Nearly ninety years ago, during one at Valparaiso, the sea overflowed the whole of the Almendral; and about the same period nearly one-third of Santiago, the capital, was thrown down.

18*th.* — The earthquakes have been followed by two days of incessant rain; but the thermometer, though it is mid-winter, has not fallen below 50°. The rivulet between the Almendral and my garden is so swollen, that there has been no communication with the town these two days, and a man was drowned yesterday in attempting to cross it. There is a report, that this government will join the Peruvian in an attack on Arica, where the royalists are again masters, and that the Admiral is to conduct the expedition. 'Tis not probable. In the first place, His Lordship has returned to his coun-

try seat, having leave of absence for four months; and in the next, the ships of the Chileno squadron are in no state to go to sea; and as the officers and seamen have not been paid, it is scarcely possible for the government to think of employing them.

22d. — The wet weather continues, though with hours of sunshine occasionally. I have been delighted with reading the first new books I have seen in Chile; Lord Byron's Foscari, Cain, and Sardanapalus. He cannot write without stirring our feelings. Foscari has in it passages that, though they perhaps owe some of their magic to my actual situation so far from home, surely must touch every heart. But who that has never left their sweet home except on an expedition of pleasure, can feel like me this passage —

> " You never
> Saw day go down upon your native spires
> So calmly, with its gold and crimson glory;
> And, after dreaming a disturbed vision
> Of them and theirs — awoke and found them not !"

The reading of these dramas has afforded me great enjoyment — and 'tis the first for many a day.

July 24th. — I went to the port to dine with my friends, the H——s, and while there received the account of the first meeting of the constituent assembly, yesterday, which appears to me to have, in one instance at least, taken on itself the duties of a legislative assembly; perhaps it is difficult to separate the two: there were twenty-three members present, and seven absent. The Director went in state to the chambers of the convention, and his arrival was announced by a salvo of artillery, without which nothing is done here. He opened the session with a short speech, adverting to the mistakes and untimely dissolution of the convention of 1810, and anticipating a happier result from this. The members then proceeded to the election of a president and vice-president; when, amid cries of " Viva la patria !" " Viva la convencion !" the Director presented a memorial, which he entreated might be speedily read, and retired. The paper contains a congratulatory address to the convention; a rapid sketch of the Director's political life; advice as to the measures

to be pursued, and a statement of the wants of the country; concluding with a resignation of his authority.

The whole memorial does the Director the highest credit, excepting the resignation. This constituent, or, as it is called, preparative convention, surely is not comeptent to accept it. Indeed, the members appear to be aware of it, for they have insisted on his resuming his authority; and after a long and learned speech from the vice-president about the Romans, and the Carthagenians, and the Phenicians, a deputation waited on the Director, and conferring his office anew upon him, paid him those compliments so justly due, on account of his past administration. I think this transaction a mistake on both sides; the preparative convention, chosen by the Director himself, was not the proper assembly into whose hands he could resign the authority committed to him on the recovery of the freedom of Chile after the day of Chacabuco, nor could he receive it anew from the hands of that convention. But if an assembly, chosen by the people, even in form, were to meet, then and there would these things be properly done: I may be mistaken; perhaps he understands his countrymen. Of course, the meeting of the convention occasions a great deal of gaiety among the women, and a great deal of speculation among the men. Some are fixing beforehand the new custom-house regulations; some the number of old laws to be abrogated, and the new to be enacted. Many are astonished that no direct provision is made for the navy of Chile, and the payment of both that and the army, all being in arrears, so that neither soldiers nor sailors are in a state to be depended on in case of necessity. But Chile is considered safe; and the minister Rodriguez, acting, I presume, upon the principle, that individual riches make public prosperity, is making private speculations jointly with his friend Arcas the merchant, and purchasing with the government-money all the tobacco and spirits now in the market, in contemplation of the heavy duties he means to lay on these articles by the new *reglamento.*

July 30th. — As there are no places of public amusement for gentlefolks at Valparaiso, the English, when they make a holyday, go in

parties to the neighbouring hills or valleys, and under the name of a pic-nic, contrive to ride, eat and drink, and even to dance away most gaily. I joined one of the soberer kind of these, and rode over a good deal of ground with my younger friends; sometimes over steep rocks, sometimes through dingles and bushy dells, and here and there through bits of meadow, where the finest mushrooms in the world grow. The peach and cherry trees are in blossom, and all looks gay and cheerful. Most of us went to the place of rendezvous in the valley of Palms on horseback; but some preferred the quieter conveyance of a Chile waggon, drawn by four noble oxen, who had to drag the additional weight of an excellent dinner. The spot was at the foot of a steep hill covered with myrtle: our canopy, hung something like the draperies that Claude sometimes introduces in his landscapes, was the striped and starred banner of the United States, whose consul was the father of the feast; and close by us flowed a rivulet of sparkling water. The kind-hearted Chilena women of the neighbouring rancho came round us, assisted in our little arrangements, brought us flowers, and helped us to cut the myrtle of which we made our seats. Some were very happy: but happiness is not of every-day growth, and there are not many hands destined to pluck the golden bough; but it is always worth while to be cheerful, and I enjoyed the day more than I thought three months ago I could have enjoyed any thing.

August 2d. — Mr. Hogan brought Judge Prevost, the American consul-general, who acts also in a sort of ministerial capacity, to visit me. He is of the family of Prevost of Geneva, which has, although retaining at home the first of the name*, given many respectable, and some remarkable, citizens both to England and the United States. He is warmly interested in the fate of Chile, and regards, with the fondness which his own country and that of his father entitle him to feel, this rising republic. But I am sure that he is wrong in endeavouring to impress on the government that Chile has no business

* Professor Prevost.

with ships of war, or of trade, for these hundred years to come, and that she should hire the former, and employ foreign carriers in lieu of the latter; the interest of the nation which would in such case be the gainer is so palpable, that I wonder it did not make the Judge hesitate to offer or support it. But the simple-minded Chilenos are no match for Genevese sagacity, united to North American speculation.

4th. — A great deal of interest has been excited by the circumstances under which the captain of an American trading vessel has committed suicide: two years ago he was shipwrecked in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn, and made his way with one or two wretched companions along the coast in his whale boat to this place, subsisting on shell-fish and seals. He returned to North America, where he had a wife and family, and employed the greater part of his property in fitting out a whaler, with which he hoped to redeem his past losses, and on board of which he once more entered the Pacific. But at the end of a long cruize he put into Valparaiso without a single fish; and after walking about in a wretched state of despondence for two or three days, he retired to his cabin, wrote to his family; and leaving instructions to have his body committed to the deep, he shot himself!

August 5th. —The news from the south is not of the most pleasant nature: there has been a serious conspiracy at Valdivia; it was crushed by stratagem. At some meeting, convened under I know not what pretext, the whole of the officers implicated were so placed as that each should find himself by the person employed to seize him, and they were all accordingly secured. Their fate is not yet determined. The expedition headed by Beauchef, that was to have gone to Chiloe under the protection of the Lautaro, has, on this and other accounts, but chiefly for want of provisions, been now so long delayed that there are no hopes of its proceeding this season; and Quintanilla has probably another year in which to display a loyalty like that of the old knights of romance, rather than any thing one meets with in modern days. Shut up in the little port of San Carlos, surrounded

by a wild Indian enemy, threatened by the regular troops and ships of Chile, with no communication direct or indirect from the mother country; he has never faltered for a single instant.

August 12th. — Mr. D—— came to breakfast, and to escort me to Concon, a parish about fifteen miles from hence, lying on the great river of Aconcagna, which flows from the pass of the Andes called the Cumbre, and waters the fertile valley of Santa Rosa and the garden-land of Quillota. The ride is pleasant, although most of the road is so bad that it would scarcely be deemed passable in England; but I have seen worse in the Appenines. It winds in many places along the edges of precipices. From Valparaiso to Viña a la Mar, upon the little river Margamarga, the scenery is the same as that immediately about the port. Steep hills and rocks mostly covered with flowering shrubs; little cultivation except in the glens, which, formed by the rivulets, open to the sea, and where gardens and patches of barley surround every hut. The ocean is always in sight; sometimes breaking at the foot of the high rocks we passed over, and sometimes washing gently in upon the yellow sands at the mouth of the streams from the cultivated valleys. At Viña a la Mar, a fine estate belonging to a branch of the Carrera family, the scenery begins to change. The plain there is wide and open, the vineyard and potrero very extensive; the shrubs assume almost the appearance of trees; on the hills there are frequent plots of fine grass, where sheep and cattle find abundant pasture; and the palm here and there adorns the sides of the vales. The near view is like some of the finest parts of Devonshire; but the hills of Quillota, over which the volcano of Aconcagua, which forms a remarkable point in the central ridge of the Andes, towers, render it unlike any thing in England, I might say in Europe. The high mountains of Switzerland are always seen from a point extremely elevated; but here, from the sea-shore, the whole mass of the cordillera rises at once, at only ninety miles' distance. This gives a peculiarity to the landscape of Chile which distinguishes it, even more than its warm colour, from any I have seen before. The proprietor of Viña a la Mar is improving his estate in every way; miles of new fences are rising, thickets are disappearing, corn

is coming up in the valleys, and the best breed of sheep is beginning to people the hills. All the digging of ditches, &c. is still done with a wooden spade. I did indeed once see a man labouring in his garden with the blade-bone of a sheep tied to a stick by way of a spade; and I have read that the ancient people of Chile ploughed their land with the horns of goats and the bones of oxen.*

From Viña a la Mar the country improves in picturesque beauty; and at length the lovely valley formed by the river opens at once, bounded at either end only by the ocean and the Andes.

I found my friends Mrs. and Miss Miers, whom I was going to see, busy on one of the hills digging for bulbous roots, which abound here. I immediately joined them, and proceeded on foot towards their house, which is near the river; not too near, however, because the winter floods often encroach largely on the neighbouring plain.

Mr. Miers came to Chile with a large apparatus for rolling copper, with dies for stamping metal, and other machinery, which are adapted only for a country in a much higher state of advance. He has, however, converted some of his apparatus into excellent flour mills, and has likewise set up some circular saws for the purpose of sawing barrel-staves, there being abundance of wood fit for the purpose in the neighbourhood. But the whole of Mr. Miers's establishment is at least one hundred years too much civilised for Chile. However, the very sight of saw mills and turning lathes, to say nothing of the more complicated machinery, will do good in time: I may regret that they are little likely soon to repay the spirited individuals who brought them first here,— but *they will do good.*

After a very pleasant day spent in seeing things fit and unfit for the present state of things in the country, and in admiring the various sites and habits of many plants I have never before seen, Mr. and Mrs. Miers rode with me to Quintero on the morning of the

13th of August. — After fording the rapid river of Aconcagua in three branches, the road for three leagues lies along a wild and desolate tract of sea-beach. On one hand are great sand hills, where no

* But there were no oxen in Chile before the Spaniards.

green thing finds root, and which are high enough to exclude the view of every other object; on the other hand, a tremendous surf, which permits not the approach of boat or canoe, beats unceasingly. Halfway between Concon and Quintero, the great lake of Quintero communicates with the sea. In mild weather it only drains through the sand; at other times it breaks through its bar, and the ford is not always safe. When we passed, it was covered with various kinds of water-birds: the flamingo, with his rose-coloured bill and wings; the swan of Chile, whose feet are white, and his neck and head jet black; a brown bird, with wings like burnished bronze, and a head, bill, and feet exactly resembling the Egyptian ibis; and geese, water hens, and all the duck tribe, innumerable.

On leaving the beach, we ascended a low hill, and immediately entered a broad green forest walk, so level that it seemed to be the work of art; on either side brushwood between us and the taller trees whose leaves breathed odours, gave shelter to flocks of wood pigeons, ground doves, and partridges, among whom my old pointer, Don, seemed bewildered with joy; but every now and then, after a point, looked back as if reproachfully, because there was no gun of the party. The south-west wind here bends the trees into the same figure as in Devonshire, excepting where the gently undulating hills afford shelter.

The house Lord Cochrane is building at Quintero is far from being in the best or pleasantest part of the estate; and it has the great inconvenience of having no water near it. But had Quintero become, as was once intended, the port for the ships of war, the new house would have possessed every advantage of being not only near the squadron, but of commanding a view of the whole. The bay of Quintero, or rather the Heradura, is very beautiful; better sheltered from the fierce north winds than that of Valparaiso, better furnished with wood and water in itself, and nearer to the supplies from Quillota and the valley of Santa Rosa for provisioning ships. Some rocks, very well known, lie off the mouth of the bay; but within, excepting in a very few places, the anchoring ground is good. The Dutch circumnavigator, the famous George Spilberg, with his fleet, consist-

ing of the Rising Sun, the New Moon, Venus, Hunter, Eolus, and Lucifer, having tried in vain to water at Valparaiso, put into Quintero, where he erected a half-moon battery, and sent his mariners ashore to protect his people while wooding and watering. He calls Quintero a port second to none for shelter, safety, fish, and water. After him, our countryman Cavendish, and I think some of the buccaneers, attempted to settle here; but the jealousy of the Spaniards soon expelled them.

Looking from the house, just where the eye rests upon the graceful sweep of the bay, backed by the cordillera, a beautiful fresh-water lake seems to repose within its grassy banks. Little hills rise from it in every direction partially covered with brushwood, partly shaded by groves of forest trees; and herds of cattle may be seen, morning and evening, making their accustomed migration from the wood to the open plain, from the plain to the wood.

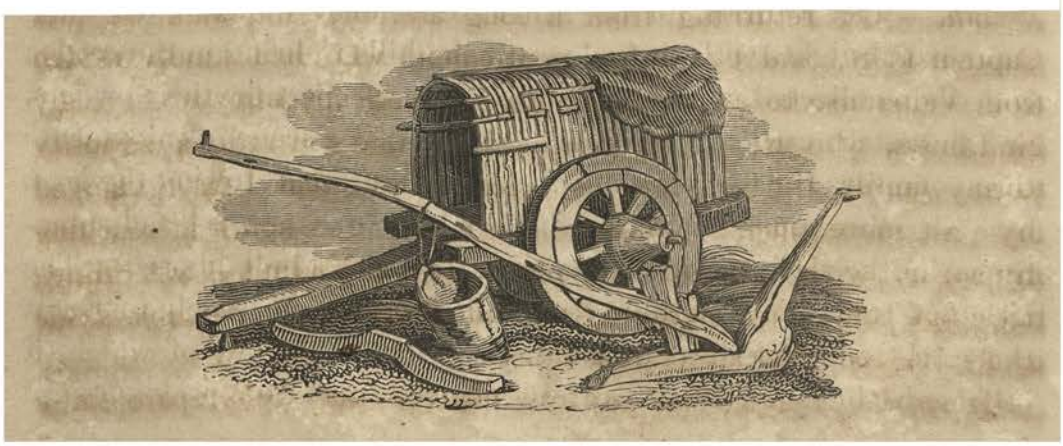
The house of Quintero is as yet but just habitable; great part of it being unfinished. Like other houses in Chile, it is of one story only. The rooms are placed in detached groups, and promise to be very agreeable when finished. But who could think of the house when the master is present? Though not handsome, Lord Cochrane has an expression of countenance which induces you, when you have looked once, to look again and again. It is variable as the feelings that pass within; but the most general look is that of great benevolence. His conversation, when he does break his ordinary silence, is rich and varied; on subjects connected with his profession, or his pursuits, clear and animated; and if ever I met with genius, I should say it was pre-eminent in Lord Cochrane.

After dinner we walked to the garden, which lies in a beautiful sheltered spot, nearly a league from the house. At the entrance lay several agricultural implements, brought by His Lordship for the purpose of introducing modern improvements into Chile, the country of his adoption. The plough, the harrow, the spade, of modern Europe, all are new here, where no improvement has been suffered for centuries. Within the garden fence a space is devoted to raising larch, and oak, and beech: the larch I should think peculiarly adapted

to this climate. Vegetables unknown before here, such as carrot, turnip, and various kinds of pulse, have been added to the stores of Chile since his arrival. On returning to the house we looked over various drafts of small vessels fitted to be employed in a coasting trade; and the evening to me passed more pleasantly than any since I have been in Chile.

14*th*. — Soon after breakfast we all mounted our horses, and rode to the outer point of the Heradura, a peninsular promontory, where the cattle of the estate were to be collected in order to be counted. This sort of meeting is technically called a *rodeo*, and usually takes place in the summer, or rather autumn; when the young animals are sufficiently strong to be driven to the *corral*, or place of rendezvous, from the mountains and thickets where they were born. All the tenants of an estate assemble on such an occasion; and the young girls are not backward to dress themselves gaily, and appear at the corral. When the day of the rodeo is appointed, the men, being all mounted, divide; and each troop has a chief, under whose orders it advances, keeps close, separates, or falls back, according to the nature of the ground, — none is too rough, no hill too bold, no forest too thick to pierce. In order to defend their arms and legs from the bushes, they have curious leathern coverings, which fasten at the hip, and defend the knee and lower leg entirely; these are generally of seal-skins worked very curiously, and are tied fantastically with points. I have seen them as high-priced as fifteen dollars. The leathers for the arms are plainer. These men often stay several nights with their dogs on the hills to bring in the cattle; and when collected, all stranger beasts are set apart for their owners, and the estate cattle are marked. A rodeo is a scene of enjoyment: there one sees the Chilenos in their glory; riding, throwing the laça, breaking the young animals, whether horses or mules; and sometimes in their wantonness mounting the lordly bull himself. The rodeo of to-day is not of so festive a kind: it is merely to count the cattle on the estate, which ought to be 2000; but of which, it is feared, there has been a great neglect or waste, or loss, since

Lord Cochrane last sailed from hence. But a few hundreds were brought together to-day; however, 'tis but the first, and as it is not the regular season, probably there will be nearly the whole in a few days more. The head vaccaros, or cowherds, ought, generally speaking, to be born on the estate where their business lies. The haunts of the cattle are so wide apart, and the country so little inhabited, and so little travelled, that tracks and landmarks there are none, and only experience can guide the vaccaro at the different seasons to the different haunts of the beasts. His business is, besides attending at the rodeos, to bring them either to the plain or to the hill, to feed or to browse, according to the season; to portion them so as to secure free access to water; and to be watchful over the young, whether calves, young horses, or mules. A real vaccaro is seldom off his horse; and it may be doubted, if the human and the brute parts of the centaurs were ever more inseparable than the vaccaro and his steed. Each of these men has a certain number of cattle committed to his charge, for which he is accountable to the land steward.—One part of the ceremony of the rodeo is very agreeable to the men concerned. About 12 o'clock to-day, one of the peons was desired to laza a bullock; which was immediately killed and dressed for the public: the skin, however, belongs to the estate, and was instantly cut up into thongs to make lazas, halters, and all manner of useful things.



Having spent the forenoon in riding to see the cattle, and planting fruit trees and strawberries in the garden, Mrs. Miers and I took leave after dinner, and returned to Concon by way of old Quintero House, most picturesquely situated near the lake, of which we had seen the seaward end in riding along the beach. Some of the scenery is very pretty, particularly about the house itself; but as we coasted the lake towards the ocean, the vegetation began to give way to sand, and we soon found ourselves going cautiously along a formidable slope, where to have slipt would have precipitated us into a very deep lake, and where the sand was of so loose a texture, that to slip seemed almost inevitable. At length we reached the sea-beach, and there found, that owing to the high wind and tide of to-day, the barrier of the lake was burst; and we had to search a long time for a ford. At length, however, we got over safely; but it was not until dark that we crossed the river at Concon. The sagacity of the horses, who, having once passed it, had no hesitation in choosing the ford, carried us across with safety, though there is something fearful in fording a deep and rapid river in the dark. The rushing of the waters, the sensation of struggling owing to the resistance they offer to the horses' feet, the cry of a water-bird startled from its nest on the margin, might easily become the shriek of the water sprite, and his attempts to seize the traveller. Night, doubt, and fear, are powerful magicians, and have done more to people the world of fiction than half the romancers that ever lived.

15th. — On returning from a long and pleasant walk we met Captain F. S., and two other gentlemen, who had kindly ridden from Valparaiso to escort me home. I was really sorry to leave my kind hosts, who are so superior in knowledge and rational curiosity to any family I have seen for a long time, that I have enjoyed my visit more than I can say. We were three hours in reaching my house, for the road, in many places, does not admit of fast riding; but a fine sunset, a beautiful view, and agreeable companions, made up for the road and all its difficulties.

Valparaiso, August 17th. — I rode to the port to prepare for a

journey I mean to make to Santiago. Now the rainy season is over, I begin to be impatient to see the capital; and though the distance is only ninety miles, I must take beds as well as clothes, because the inns, with the exception of that at the first stage, Casablanca, are not provided with such things. Then I must have mules for my baggage; my own peon serves as a guide, and I mean to be part of three days on the road.

While in town, I met Captain Morgell, late of the Chile States brig Aranzaçu, which sunk as they were endeavouring to heave her down to repair. He left Guayaquil twenty-eight days ago; at which time the place was actually in possession of Bolivar, who was making common cause with San Martin, and had promised to send him 4000 men to aid in the final reduction of Peru. The people of Guayaquil, influenced by agents from Lima, had been behaving very ill to the Chile States vessels of war, and even threatened to fire on the Aranzaçu and Mercedes. But they have been kept quiet by Bolivar, who, though he hates, and is jealous of foreigners, knows, that in the present state of South America, it is impossible to do without them.

August 22d.— I began my journey to Santiago. My companion was the Honourable Frederick de Roos, midshipman belonging to His Majesty's ship Alacrity; and I took with me my maid and my peon, with three baggage mules. We were escorted to the first post-house, about twelve miles from Valparaiso, by a party of friends, male and female, who had breakfasted with us. Instead of ascending the heights of the port by the broad carriage road which Chile owes to the father of the present Director, we followed the old rugged path, which, being shorter, is still used by the woodcutters' mules, and sometimes by the common baggage cattle. This by-way is extremely rugged, being every where cut through by the winter rains; which, collecting on the flat grounds above, pour down the hill, furrowing deep channels in the soft red soil. Having once gained the height, an immense plain, called the Llanos de la Peñuela, extended itself before us, with hills beyond, over whose tops the snowy Andes appeared. Numerous streams, but none very large, cross this plain,

and herds of cattle were grazing on it; but it wants trees. At the end of the plain there is a second post-house; beyond which we entered a winding road, through a hilly ridge that separates the Llanos de la Peñuela from those of Casablanca. The pastoral and picturesque appearance of this pass reminded us of Devonshire,—the same grassy hills, and small shaded streams, and groups of cattle. Beyond the pass, a strait and perfectly flat road of about twelve miles leads to Casablanca. The plain on either side is nearly covered with espinella, or mimosa, whose fragrant sessile flowers just coming into blossom perfume the whole atmosphere; and the earth is almost carpeted with thrift, wood-anemone, œnothera white blue and yellow, star of Bethlehem, saxifrage, and an endless variety of mallows and minute geraniums. But it is yet too early for the most beautiful part of the Flora of Chile.

Casablanca is a mean little town, with one church, a governor, and several justices, and sends a member to the convention. It is famous for its butter and other products of the dairy; but derives its chief importance from being the only town on the road between the port and the city, and also the place at which the produce, whether for home consumption or exportation, from several neighbouring districts is collected, before it proceeds either to the city or to Valparaiso. One long street and a square constitute the town, but the greater part of the population of the parish resides in the farms in the neighbourhood. The square is not unlike a village green; the little church stands on one side, two inns and a few cottages and gardens occupy the other three; and, in the centre, an annual bull-fight takes place, on so diminutive a scale that the people of Santiago thought it a fit subject for ridicule, and, accordingly, to the no small annoyance of the natives, they brought out a farce on the stage called the "Bull-fight of Casablanca." I do not know whether Casablanca has any other literary claim to notice excepting, perhaps, the chapter in Vancouver's Voyages where he mentions the building of the houses precisely the same with that of Valparaiso, and there, I think, says that his party taught the people

of Chile for the first time the use of brooms to sweep their houses; a slander which is greatly resented by the Chilenos, who are remarkably neat in that particular, and who sweep their floors at least twice a day.

Captain the Honourable F. Spencer had kindly accompanied us thus far. I felt little fatigue from the ride, which is only thirty miles, but my poor maid was so fagged that I began to regret having brought her, as we had only accomplished one-third of our journey; however, a good night's rest in beds so decent as to induce me not to unpack our own for this night, an excellent dinner, and still better breakfast, made us all so strong that there was no doubt of doing well when we set off next morning. The inn is kept by an English negro, who understands something of the comforts required by an Englishman, and really presents a very tolerable resting-place to a traveller.

23d.— Capt. Spencer went with us to the Cuesta de Zapata, a very steep mountain, up which the road winds in such a manner as to form sixteen terraces, one above the other, making a most singular appearance, seen in perspective from the long straight road which leads directly to it from Casablanca. The plain on this side of the town appears much richer than what we passed yesterday; amidst the thickets of espinella clear spaces appeared belonging to different dairy farms. The road-side is bordered with fine trees; maytenes, Chile willows, molle, and other evergreens, which became more numerous as we approached the Cuesta, and formed groves and woods in the deep glens into which it is broken. At the foot of the hill Capt. Spencer left us, to my great regret; for so agreeable and intelligent a companion, delightful every where, is doubly valuable at this distance from Europe.

I wonder that I have never heard the beauty of this road praised. Perhaps the merchants who use it frequently may be ruminating on profit and loss as they ride; and our English naval officers, who take a run to the capital for the sake of its gaieties, think too much of the end for which they go to attend to the road which leads thither. It reminds me of some of the very finest parts of the Appenines. The undulating valley, called the Caxon de Zapata, that opened on our

reaching the height, its woody glens, and the snowy mountains beyond, formed a very beautiful picture; the sky was serene, and the temperature delightful. In short, it might have been Italy, but that it wanted the tower and the temple to show that man inhabited it: but here all is too new; and one half expects to see a savage start from the nearest thicket, or to hear a panther roar from the hill. As soon as we could prevail on ourselves to leave the beautiful spot which commanded the view, we descended into the vale below, where we came to the post-house, and rested our horses; while doing so, the hostess obliged us to walk in and sit down at her family dinner. The house is a decent farm-house, and not by any means an inn, though the post is stationed there. Our repast was the usual stew, *charquican*, of the country, fresh and dried meat boiled together, with a variety of vegetables, and seasoned with aji or Chile pepper, the whole served up in a huge silver dish; and silver forks were distributed to each person, of whom, with ourselves, there were eight. Milk, with maize flour and brandy, completed the dinner. At length, ourselves and our horses being refreshed, we renewed our journey, our peon and mules having gone on before; and on leaving the Caxon, entered on the long deep vale on which both Curucavia and Bustamante stand. The first lies pretty widely scattered among its orchards at the foot of a mountain, and on the margin of a broad stream called the Estero of Curucavia, which issues out of a deep valley beyond, and the fording passage of which is exactly at the most picturesque spot. Bustamante is a hamlet, so named from the mayorasgo to whom it belongs; it lies under part of the ridge that forms the Cuesta de Prado, and has little remarkable to recommend it. The post-house is kept by a most civil and attentive old lady, who gave us very good mutton and excellent claret for dinner, and a clean room to sleep in: the floor is mud; and in different corners posts are stuck so as to form bed-places, on which we placed our matrasses, and slept extremely well, my maid, as before, being the most fatigued of the party, a proof that youth and health are not always the hardiest travelling companions;—she went to bed, while I remained up to write and prepare every thing for to-morrow.

24th. — At seven o'clock we resumed our journey, in company with the peon Felipe; and about a mile from Bustamante, another peon with baggage joined us without ceremony, and performed the rest of the journey with us. As the new road over the Cuesta de Prado makes a circuit of several miles, Felipe wisely determined on leading us up the old mountain-path, which, but that we had been inured gradually to the sight of precipices, might have appeared tremendous. About half a mile from Bustamante we quitted O'Higgins's road, and entered what is here called a monte or thicket * of beautiful underwood, and occasionally very large trees. The giant torch-thistle, starting up here and there among the lower shrubs, gave a picturesque peculiarity to the scene. About the centre of the monte, a large clear space presented a pleasing picture: it was the resting-place of a string of mules employed in carrying goods across the cordillera; the packages were placed in a circle, two bales together, and in the midst the masters and animals were reposing or eating, as pleased them; and at their little fire, close at hand, two or three of the men were employed in cooking. We soon began to ascend the sharp and rugged mountain, and could not help stopping every now and then to admire the beautiful scene behind us, and to look down into the leafy gulfs at our feet. Here and there the windings of the road were marked by strings of loaded mules on their way to the capital, and the long call of the muleteers resounding from the opposite cliffs harmonised well with the scene.

At length we reached the summit, and the Andes appeared in hoary majesty above a hundred ranges of inferior hills; but we had not yet come to the most beautiful spot; *that* lies about three furlongs from the junction of the old and the new roads of the Cuesta de Prado. Looking to one side, the long valleys we had passed stretched out into a distance doubled by the morning mist, through which the surrounding hills shone in every variety of tint; on the other hand, lies the beautiful plain of Santiago, through which the

* The application of the word Monte arose, it seems, in the plains of Buenos Ayres, which are so flat, that wherever there is a grove, the distant effect is in truth that of a hill.

Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

FROM THE FOOT OF THE CUESTA DE PRADO.

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Engraved by Edw. Finden.

VIEW FROM THE CUESTA DE PRADO.

road is discernible here and there. The high hills which surround the city, and the most magnificent range of mountains in the world, the cordillera of the Andes, now capped with snow, shooting into the heavens, with masses of cloud rolling in their dark valleys, presented to me a scene I had never beheld equalled. In the foreground there is a great deal of fine wood; and had there been water in sight, the landscape would have been perfect.

At the foot of the Cuesta, on the city side, we were happy to find an excellent breakfast of broiled mutton after our long ride; and we rested both ourselves and our horses for some time. The road from thence to the next stage, Pudaguel, is over a hot sandy plain, sprinkled with mimosas, and rendered hotter by the reflection of the sun from the arid surface. Pudaguel is a post on the banks of the lake of Pudaguel, which terminates at this point. It is vulgarly imagined that the river Mapocho, on which the city of Santiago is built, runs thus far, and here sinks through the gravel and sand to reappear by seven mouths on the other side of the mountain San Miguel, whence it flows into the vale of the Maypu, falling into that river near Mellipilla; but the lake of Pudaguel does not communicate with the Mapocho, it is fed by the streams of Colinas and Lampa. The Mapocho, much diminished by the canals taken from it for irrigation, does disappear somewhere in the plain of Maypu; and the water of the beautiful fountain from San Miguel, being of the same sweet, light, and clear quality as that of the Mapocho, is called by that name until it joins the white and turbid Maypu. It is such accidents as these which the poetical Greeks delighted to adorn with the rich fabulous imagery which spreads a charm over all they deigned to sing of. How much more beautiful is the scenery round the banks of Pudaguel, than the dirty washing-place that marks the fountain of Arethusa in Syracuse! And yet, when I stood there actually hearing and seeing *vulgar Sicilians*, surrounded by mean squalid houses and with nothing more sacred than a broken plaster image of the Virgin, my imagination, longing from youth to see where "Divine Alceus did by secret sluice steal under-ground to meet his Arethuse," soon encrusted the

rock with marble, and restored the palaces, and the statues, and the luxury of that fountain which once deserved the praise or the reproach of being the most luxurious spot of a luxurious city. Here Pudaguel sinks in lonely beauty unsung, and therefore unhonoured.

The view from the pass of Pudaguel is most beautiful. Looking across the river, whose steep banks are adorned with large trees, the plain of Santiago stretches to the mountains, at whose foot the city with its spires of dazzling whiteness extends, and distinguishes this from the other fine views in Chile, in which the want of human habitation throws a melancholy over the face of nature.

Three miles beyond Pudaguel, we met Don Jose Antonio de Cotapos, whose family had kindly invited me to stay in their house while I was at Santiago; and though I had declined it, fancying I should be more at liberty in an English inn, my intentions were overruled, when I was met a few miles farther on by M. Prevost, who told me the ladies would be hurt if I did not go to their house, at any rate in the first instance. This was hardly settled, before I saw two carriages with Madame de Cotapos and three of her remarkably pretty daughters, who had come to meet me and carry me into the city. The latter I declined, not liking, dusty as I was, to enter their carriage. I therefore rode on, and was received most kindly by Doña Mercedita, a fourth daughter, whose grace and politeness equals her beauty. After a little rest, and having refreshed myself by dressing, I was called to dinner; where I found all the family assembled, and several other gentlemen, who were invited to meet me, and do honour to the feast of reception. The dinner was larger than would be thought consistent with good taste; but every thing was well dressed, though with a good deal of oil and garlic. Fish came among the last things. All the dishes were carved on the table, and it is difficult to resist the pressing invitations of every moment to eat of every thing. The greatest kindness is shown by taking things from your own plate and putting it on that of your friend; and no scruple is made of helping any dish before you with the spoon or knife you have been eating with, or even tasting or eating from the general dish without the

intervention of a plate. In the intervals between the courses, bread and butter and olives were presented.

Judging from what I saw to-day, I should say that the Chilenos are great eaters, especially of sweet things; but that they drink very little.

After dinner we took coffee; and, as it was late, every thing passed as in an English house, except the retiring of most of the family to prayers at the Ave Maria. In the evening, a few friends and relations of the family arrived, and the young people amused themselves with music and dancing. The elder ones conversed over a chafing-dish, and had a thick coverlet spread over it and their knees, which answers the double purpose of confining the heat to the legs, and preventing the fumes of the charcoal from making the head ache. It is but lately that the ladies of Chile have learned to sit on chairs, instead of squatting on the estradas. Now, in lieu of the estrada, there are usually long carpets placed on each side of the room, with two rows of chairs as close together as the knees of the opposite parties will permit, so that the feet of both meet on the carpet. The graver people place themselves with their backs to the wall, the young ladies opposite; and as the young men drop in to join the tertulla, or evening meeting, they place themselves behind the ladies; and all conversation, general or particular, is carried on without ceremony in half whispers.

When a sufficient number of persons is collected the dancing begins, always with minuets; which, however, are little resembling the grave and stately dance we have seen in Europe. Grave, indeed it is, but it is slovenly; no air, no polish, nothing in which the famous Captain Nash of Bath would recognise the graceful movements of the rooms, where he presided so long and so well. The minuets are followed by allemandes, quadrilles, and Spanish dances. The latter are exceedingly graceful; and, danced as I have seen them here, are like the poetical dances of ancient sculpture and modern painting; but then, the waltz never brought youth, and mirth, and beauty, into such close contact with a partner. However, they are used to it, and I was a fool to feel troubled at the sight. After all the dancing was

over, and the friends had retired, the gates were shut carefully, the family went to their principal meal — a hot supper; and, as I never eat at night, I retired to my room highly pleased with the gentle and kind manners, and hospitable frankness of my new friends, and too tired to think of any thing but sleep. It was so long since I had heard a watchman that I could scarcely believe my ears, when the sound of "*Ave Maria purissima las onzes de noche y sereno,*" reached me as I was undressing, and awakened many a remembrance associated with

> "The bellman's drowsy charm,
> To bless the doors from nightly harm."

25th. — My first object this morning was to examine the disposition of the different apartments of the house I am in; and first I went to the gate by which I entered, and looked along the wall on either hand in vain for a window looking to the street. The house, like all those to which my eye reached, presented a low white wall with an enormous projecting tiled roof: in the centre a great portal with folding gates, and by it a little tower called the Alto, with windows and a balcony at the top, where I have my apartment; and under it, close by the gate, is the porter's lodge. This portal admits one into a great paved quadrangle, into which various apartments open: those on either hand appeared to be store-rooms: opposite, are the sala or drawing-room, the principal bed-room, which is also a public sitting room, and one or two smaller public rooms; behind this band of building there is a second quadrangle laid out in flower-plots, shaded with fruit trees, and of which a pleasant veranda makes part. Here the young people of the family often sit, and either receive visits or pursue their domestic occupations. Round this court or pateo, the private apartments of the family are arranged; and behind them there is a smaller court, where the kitchen, offices, and servants' apartments are placed, and through which, as in most houses in Santiago, a plentiful stream of water is always running.

This disposition of the houses, though pleasant enough to the inhabitants, is ugly without, and gives a mean, dull air to the streets,

which are wide and well paved, having a footpath flagged with slabs of granite and porphyry; and through most of them a small stream is constantly running, which, with a little more attention from the police, might make it the cleanest city in the world: it is not very dirty; and when I recollect Rio Janeiro and Bahia, I am ready to call it absolutely clean.

The house of Cotapos is handsomely, not elegantly furnished. Good mirrors, handsome carpets, a piano by Broadwood, and a reasonable collection of chairs, tables, and beds, not just of the forms of modern Paris or London, but such, I dare say, as were fashionable there little more than a century ago, look exceedingly well on this side of the Horn. It is only the dining-room that I feel disposed to quarrel with: it is the darkest, dullest, and meanest apartment in the house. The table is stuck in one corner, so that one end and one side only allow room for a row of high chairs between them and the wall; therefore any thing like the regular attendance of servants is precluded. One would almost think that it was arranged for the purpose of eating in secret; and one is led to think, especially when the great gates close at night before the principal meal is presented, of the Moors and the Israelites of the Spanish peninsula, jealously hiding themselves from the eyes of their Gothic tyrants.

My breakfast was served in my own room according to my own fashion, with tea, eggs, and bread and butter. The family eat nothing at this time of day; but some take a cup of chocolate, others a little broth, and most a matee. The ladies all visited me on their way to mass; and on this occasion they had left off their usual French style of dress, and were in black, with the Mantilla and all that makes a pretty Spaniard or Chilena, ten times prettier.

About noon, M. de la Salle, one of the Supreme Director's Aides de Camp called, with a polite compliment from His Excellency, welcoming me to Santiago. By this gentleman I sent my letters of introduction to Doña Rosa O'Higgins; and it was agreed that I should visit her to-morrow evening, as she goes to the theatre to-night.

Soon after dinner to-day, Mr. de Roos and I accompanied Don Antonio de Cotapos and two of his sisters to the plain on the south-west side of the town, to see the *Chinganas*, or amusements of the common people. On every feast-day they assemble at this place, and seem to enjoy themselves very much in lounging, eating sweet puffs fried on the spot in oil, and drinking various liquors, but especially chicha, while they listen to a not disagreeable music played on the harp, guitar, tambourine, and triangle, accompanied by women's voices, singing of love and patriotism. The musicians are placed in waggons covered with reeds, or regularly thatched, where they sit playing to draw custom to little tables, placed around with cakes, liquors, flowers, which those attracted by the songs buy for themselves or the lasses they wish to treat. Some of the flowers, such as carnations and ranunculuses, are extravagantly dear: half a dollar is frequently asked for a single one, and a yellow ranunculus, with petals tipped with crimson and a green centre, is worth at least a dollar, in order to make a present of. Men, women, and children, are passionately fond of the Chinganas. The whole plain is covered with parties on foot, on horseback, in caleches, and even in carts; and, although for the fashionables, the Almeida is most in vogue, yet there is no want of genteel company at the Chinganas*: every body seemed equally happy and equally orderly. In so great a crowd in England, there would surely have been a ring or two for a fight; but nothing of the kind occurred here, although there was a good deal of gambling and some drinking. In the evening I joined the family Tertulla, where the usual music and dancing and gossip went on; and I found that even in Chile the beauty and dress of one young lady is criticised by another just as with us. And now I think of it, I am sure I never saw so many very pretty women in one day, as I beheld to day: I am not sure that any were of transcendant beauty, but I am quite sure I did not see one plain. They are generally of the middle size, well made, and walk well, with fine hair and beautiful eyes, as many

* See Frezier.

blue as black, good teeth, and as for their complexion, — the red and white. " Nature's own pure and cunning hand" never laid on finer, — but, alas! " liberal not lavish is kind nature's hand;" and these pretty creatures have generally harsh rough voices, and about the throats of some there is that fulness that denotes that goîtres are not uncommon.

26th. — This morning, on looking out soon after day-break, I saw the provisions coming into town for the market. The beef cut in quarters, the mutton in halves, was mounted on horseback before a man or boy, who, in his poncho, sat as near the tail of the horse as possible. Fowls in large grated chests of hide came slung on mules. Eggs, butter, milk, cheese, and vegetables, all rode, no Chileno condescending to walk, especially with a burden, unless in case of dire necessity; and as the strings of beasts so laden came along one way, I saw women enveloped in their mantos, and carrying their alfombras and missals, going to mass another.

The cries in the streets are nearly as unintelligible as those in London, and, with the exception of *Sweep* and *Old Clothes*, concern the same articles. Judge Prevost came in soon after breakfast and settled my mode of paying my respects to Doña Rosa O'Higgins in the evening. It appears that to walk even to a next-door neighbour on occasions of ceremony is so undignified, that I must not think of it, therefore I go in a chaise belonging to the family where I live, and two of the ladies will accompany me. This last proposal I own startled me. They are of one of the best families here; but a daughter was married to a Carrera: they were all partizans of Carrera, and more than one have been implicated in conspiracies against the present government: nay, it is said against the Director's life; and I know that no intercourse of a friendly nature, notwithstanding the good-natured wishes of Mr. Prevost, has as yet taken place between the palace and the house of Catapos. If I am the means of spreading peace, so much the better, though I perhaps would rather know openly the use to be made of me.

I walked out to see the Plaza: one side is occupied by the palace which contains the residence of the director, the courts of justice, and the public prison. The building is from its size extremely handsome, but it is as yet irregular, because when the directorial palace was added money was scarce, yet all the lower story corresponds with the Doric order of the rest, and may be raised upon whenever the government is rich enough. The west side of the square is occupied by the unfinished cathedral, also Doric, the bishop's palace, and a few inferior buildings: the south side has an arcade in front of private houses, the lower stories of which are shops, and under the arcade are booths something in the style of the bazars of modern London. On moonlight nights this arcade is exceedingly gay. It is the fashion then for ladies to go shopping on foot; and as every booth has its light, the scene is extremely pretty; the fourth side is filled up by mean houses, one of the best of which is the English inn. We passed several other public buildings which are, generally speaking, handsome, the Doric order being almost universally adopted; yet the streets have a mean air, owing to the dead walls of the private houses.

After dinner, Mr. de Roos and I walked to the Tacama and the Almeida. The Tacama is a strong mound of masonry built to defend the city from the floods of the Mapocho, which, though now a mere rivulet stealing its way in a narrow channel in the midst of a wide bed of pebbles, is twice a year an ungovernable flood. The winter rains and the melting of the snows being the seasons when it rolls its mighty flood across the plain, and but for the Tacama would overflow the greater part of the city. The Almeida is within the Tacama: it is a charming walk, bordered with rows of willow trees, and commanding delightful views. From thence we followed a narrow street to the fort on the little rock of Santa Lucia, which should be the citadel of Santiago. It rises in the midst of it, or nearly so, and commands it, and there are now in fact two little batteries on its opposite extremities. As we went we could not but admire the huge blocks of granite that nature seems to have disposed

here as in sport; now forming caverns and now overhanging the road; and reminding us of the loosened mountains with which the ancient Caciques used to overwhelm their invaders. From Santa Lucia, we discovered the whole plain of Santiago to the Cuesta de Prado, the plain of Maypu stretching even to the horizon, the snowy Cordillera, and beneath our feet the city, its gardens, churches, and its magnificent bridge all lit up by the rays of the setting sun, which on the city, the plains, and the Prado produced such effects as poets and painters have described. But what pen or pencil can impart a thousandth part of the sublime beauty of sunset on the Andes? I gazed on it

——— "till the place became
Religion, and my heart ran o'er
In secret worship."

What had St. Isidore's bell to do, to awaken one from such contemplation to look on his petty church under a huge dark cloud, whence issued a long and solemn procession of monks and priests performing the first of a nine days' prayer to their patron Isidore, and jointly with Saint James, patron of the city, for rain?

I wish that superstition had not gone farther than assigning a guardian to each country, city, and individual; there is something so soothing in the feeling that a superior being is watching over us, and ready to intercede for us with the great Judge of all. The light-hearted Athenian had his Minerva, the sturdy Roman his Jupiter the greatest and the best, England even yet keeps her GEORGE, and why not St. Iago her James, the mirror of knighthood, and Isidore, the husbandman? I entered into conversation with a woman on the rock, who told me that dry weather is considered as unwholesome here, and that people's bodies dried up like the earth without rain, therefore there was much need of the interference of the saints to keep sickness as well as dearth from the city. She said also that fever and pains in the throat came from the dry weather. If this is not prejudice, it is curious.

We came home to dress for the palace, where we went accompanied by Judge Prevost, Madame Cotapos and her second daughter,

Mariquita, a young woman more cultivated than is usual here. The ladies both apologised for appearing in cotton stockings and coarse black shoes, by saying that it was in consequence of a vow made during a severe illness of the old gentleman, Don Jose Miguel Cotapos, by which they had obliged themselves to wear such stockings and shoes a whole year, if his life was granted to their prayers. If I smiled at the superstition of this, the affection whence it proceeded was too respectable to permit me to laugh; and I was well aware of the extent of the merit of the vow, as there is nothing in which a lady of Chile is so delicate as the choice of her shoes. Madame Cotapos whispered to me that the torment hers had occasioned was such that she had been obliged to slip a little cotton wool into them to save her feet. Luckily she did not understand me, as I could not help muttering Peter Pindar's words, "I took the liberty to boil my peas." Mariquita performs her vow, however, without reservation of any kind. On arriving at the palace, we walked in with less bustle and attendance than I have seen in most private houses: the rooms are handsomely but plainly furnished; English cast-iron grates; Scotch carpets; some French china, and time-pieces, little or nothing that looked Spanish, still less Chileno. The Director's mother Doña Isabella, and his sister Doña Rosa, received us not only politely but kindly. The Director's reception was exceedingly flattering both to me and my young friend De Roos. His Excellency had passed several years in England, great part of which time he spent at an academy at Richmond in Surrey. He immediately asked me if I had ever been there, enquired after my uncle Mr., now Sir David Dundas, and several other persons of my acquaintance, by name, and asked very particularly about his old masters in music and other arts. I was very much pleased with the kindliness of nature shown in these recollections, and still more so when I saw several wild-looking little girls come into the room, and run up to him, and cling about his knees, and found they were little orphan Indians rescued from slaughter on the field of battle. It appears that the Indians, when they make their inroads on the reclaimed grounds, bring their wives and families with them; and should a

battle take place and become desperate, the women usually take part in it. Should they lose it, it is not uncommon for the men to put to death their wives and children to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, and indeed till now it was only anticipating, by a few minutes, the fate of these wretched creatures; for quarter was neither given nor taken on either side, the Indians in the Spanish ranks continuing their own war customs in spite of their partial civilisation. The Director now gives a reward for all persons, especially women and children, saved on these occasions. The children are to be educated and employed hereafter as mediators between their nations and Chile, and, to this end, care is taken that they should not forget their native tongue. The Director was kind enough to talk to them in the Araucanian tongue, that I might hear the language, which is soft and sweet; perhaps it owed something to the young voices of the children. One of them pleased me especially: she is a little Maria, the daughter of a Cacique, who, with his wife and all the elder part of his family, was killed in a late battle. Doña Rosa takes a particular charge of the little female prisoners, and acts the part of a kind mother to them. I was charmed with the humane and generous manner in which she spoke of them. As to Doña Isabella, she appears to live on her son's fame and greatness, and looks at him with the eyes of maternal love, and gathers every compliment to him with eagerness. He is modest and simple, and plain in his manners, arrogating nothing to himself; or, if he has done much, ascribing it to the influence of that love of country which, as he says, may inspire great feelings into an ordinary man. He conversed very freely about the state of Chile, and told me he doubted not but that I must be surprised at the backwardness of the country in many things, and particularly mentioned the want of religious toleration, or, rather, the very small measure of it which, considering the general state of things, he had yet been able to grant, without disturbing the public tranquillity; and he seemed a little inclined to censure those Protestants who wished prematurely to force upon him the building a chapel, and the public institution of Pro-

testant worship; forgetting how very short a time it is since even private liberty of conscience and a consecrated burial-place had been allowed in a country which, within twelve years, had been subject to the Inquisition at Lima. He spoke a good deal also of the necessity of public education, and told me of the Lancasterian and other schools lately established here, and in other towns in Chile, which are certainly numerous in proportion to the population.

Several other persons now joined the party, among whom was a Colonel Cruz; whom the Director particularly introduced as the intended new governor of Talcahuana, and recommended me to his attention during the journey I mean to make shortly to the southward. The military men who came in afterwards were some of them Frenchmen, but they did not appear to me to be of the most polished of their countrymen: they sat in dead silence, while some of the members of the *cabildo*, *i. e.* the municipal chamber of Santiago, discussed various questions of policy connected with the projected constitution; till Doña Rosa, finding the conversation likely to become exclusively political, proposed to Doña Mariquita to play some French music, which she instantly did, without book, extremely well, having a fine ear and an excellent finger; and I had time to look at the persons round me. The Director was dressed, as I believe he always is, in his general's uniform; he is short and fat, yet very active: his blue eyes, light hair, and ruddy and rather coarse complexion, do not bely his Irish extraction; while his very small and short hands and feet belong to his Araucanian pedigree. Doña Isabella is young-looking for her years, and very handsome, though small. Her daughter is like the Director, on a larger scale. She was dressed in a scarlet satin spencer and white skirt, a sort of dress much worn here. The Chileno men are an uglier coarser race, as far as I have seen, than the women, who are beautiful, and, what is more, lady-like: they have a natural easy politeness, and a caressing manner that is delightful; but then some of their habits are disagreeable; for instance, a handsome fat lady, who came all in blue satin to the palace to-night, had a spitting-box brought and set before her, into which she spat continually, and

so dexterously, as to show she was well accustomed to the manœuvre. However, the young ladies, and all who would be thought so, are leaving off these ugly habits fast.

At about ten o'clock we left the palace, and found our young people at home still engaged in their minuets. I sat with them a short time, and then came to my alto to write the journal of this my second day in Santiago, with which I am very well pleased.

27th. — Visited Doña Mercedes de Solar, whose father, Juan Henriques Rosalis, was one of the members of the first junta of the revolutionary government in 1810. She is a very pretty, and very polished woman; seems well acquainted with French authors, and speaks French extremely well. I found her sitting in the bed-room, which, as I have noticed, is often used as a drawing-room; she was surrounded by some lovely children, and had with her some pretty nieces; books and needlework were on a small French table by her, and before her was a large chafingdish of well-burnt charcoal. The dish was of massy silver, beautifully embossed, set in a frame of curiously inlaid wood; and there was a wrought silver spoon to stir the coals with. I have seen several of the same kind before; but it seemed here in keeping with the rest of the room, and the persons. The stately French bed, the open piano, the guitar, the ormoulu time-piece, the ladies, the children, the books, the work, and the flowers in French porcelain, with the rich Chilian brassiere, into which perfume is now and then cast, made a charming picture, which, lighted as it was from a high window behind me, I heartily wished in proper hands to copy. I would not have changed the purple pelisse of the mother, setting off her white and rather full throat, or even the pale looks of little Vicente, for all the inventions of all the painters that ever tricked out interiors with fullest effect. I have a particular interest in Vicente, besides his being a clever child. He came with me in the Doris from Rio, whither he had gone in the Owen Glendower. He suffered from cold in coming round the Horn, and I had him with me in the cabin as much as circumstances would permit. One day we were speaking of the

newly discovered South Shetland *, and of the wreck of the Spanish line-of-battle ship which had been found there, — a ship which had been bound to Chile with troops, but had never been heard of. The boy was listening eagerly, and then looked at me, — " Mirad la Fortuna de Chile," said he ; " when the tyrants send ships to oppress her, God sends them to wreck on desert coasts." I trust, the stuff he is made of will not be spoiled by the constant intercourse he has with the French who frequent his father's house ; Don Felipe de Solar being general agent for all French vessels arriving in Chile. This is, I believe, an illiberal feeling, but I cannot help it ; there are some things, which, like faith, do not depend upon the will, and this is one of them. Perhaps I envied the French authors their place on Madame Solar's table, and would have liked to have seen the *Rape of the Lock* there, rather than the *Lutrin*.

In the evening we rode to the quinta of the Canonico Erreda by the Almeida, and so to the north-east. The house is spacious and pleasant ; the garden delicious : little water-courses, led in quaintly-figured canals among the flower-beds, maintain a never failing succession of all the sweetest and rarest flowers, — the violet and wall-flower, the carnation and ranunculus ; and there are delicious oranges, of which we ate no small number ; and limes, and a large peach-orchard, and a vineyard, and cows, and a dairy, and all manner of rural wealth and comfort.

From the Canonico's we rode by the olive grove with the thickest shade of olive trees on one hand, and on the other long orchards of cherry, peach, apple, and pear, all now in blossom ; and crossing two or three enclosures at each gate of which we were sure to meet some one to open it, and as surely some one to beg, — a practice nobody seems ashamed of here, — we reached the Cañada, formerly only a marshy suburb of the town ; but O'Higgins is causing it to be drained, and cleared, and planted with trees, so that it will soon exceed the Almeida in beauty, as it does in extent. The water,

* New South Shetland should rather be called a re-discovery : Raleigh was there, and hanged some mutineers on the coast.

instead of overflowing, is now conveyed in a regular canal, with shrubs on each side, and gravel walks for foot passengers, and wider roads for carriages and horses; about one third of this is done, and the rest is in progress.

28th. — St. Austin's Day. I am no favourite with the saint, for he has been thwarting me all day long. But all things in order. Early in the morning I heard a bell ringing exactly like that which on winter evenings in London announces the approach of "muffins;" I looked out, and saw first, a boy ringing the said bell, then another with a bundle of candles: all the people in the streets pulled off their hats, and stood as if doing homage. Then came a dark blue caleche, with glories and holy ghosts painted on it, and a man within dressed in white satin, embroidered with silver and coloured silk. In front sat a man with a gilt lanthorn; behind, people with umbrellas. I asked what it was, and was told it was the *Padre Eterno.* The expression sounds indecent to a protestant; it is holy to a Spaniard, who must think that such indeed is the Host on its way to a dying person; — such in fact was the procession I saw. This was the only thing that happened before the disappointments occasioned by St. Austin began. The first of these occurred when I went with Mr. de Roos to see the Lancasterian school; we found the boys all gone to Mass in honour of St. Austin, and the school shut: we proceeded to the national printing-office; the doors were shut, and the printers at Mass. Thence we went to the chamber of the Consulada, hoping to be present at a session of the convention: but the members were at Mass. Then despairing of seeing any public place or people, I thought I would draw; so repaired to the Plaça, where I had been promised a balcony to sketch from: but the master had gone to Mass, and taken the keys in his pocket; so I went home, resolving to do better in the afternoon, and began to sketch the inner pateo of the house: but, being a holiday, numerous visitors came, and little was done.

After dinner I took fresh courage, and set off with Madame Cotapos and her daughters to visit the nunnery of St. Austin: but it had

been the festival of their saint; and what with that and the vigil, the lady abbess and her nuns were so fatigued, having been singing all day and part of the night, that they could not receive us. The note containing this disagreeable news reached us when we were all dressed and ready for walking; so we went to visit the ladies Godoy, in whose house Judge Prevost lives. These ladies are near relations of Madame Cotapos, and are extremely lively and agreeable. We sat chatting in the inner pateo or garden, which looks like every thing romancers and travellers tell us is Moorish; and had matee brought to us by some pretty little Indian girls, very nicely dressed; and then we adjourned to the house, which has lately assumed in its fire-places, and other comforts, a very European air. We had a little music here, and then walked home; my friends as usual without hats or veils, and in their satin shoes.

In the intervals between the disappointments occasioned by St. Austin, I went into the large and handsome church formerly belonging to the Jesuits, where the troops were assembled to hear Mass; and their military music joined to the solemn organ had a fine effect. I also went into the cathedral, having put on a mantilla for the purpose, as bonnets are not allowed to appear in church. The interior of the building is very handsome, though unfinished. There is some rich plate, particularly a fine chased altar-piece.

29th of August, 1822. — A party, consisting of Judge Prevost, who is always ready to promote my wish of seeing every thing curious in Chile, Mr. de Roos, Doña Mariquita Cotapos, Don Jose Antonio Cotapos, and some young Englishmen, rode out to see the Salta de Agua, the only remaining work of the ancient Caciques in the neighbourhood. We crossed the handsome stone bridge built by Ambrose O'Higgins over the Mapocho; and, after passing through the suburb La Chimba*, we proceeded to the powder-mills, now in a ruined state. They were wrought by water; the machinery clumsy and dangerous, the mixture being pounded in stone mortars instead of ground. These works, which had cost the government of Old Spain a prodi-

* The Chimba is famous for an excellent brewery, and for curing bacon.

Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

SALTA. DE AGUA.

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gious sum of money, were destroyed by the Carreras, in the retreat before Osorio, in 1814, and have never been re-established, although much wanted. We found part of the ground about the mills occupied by Mr. Goldsegg, an ingenious artist, formerly employed in Woolwich warren, but who came here with his wife and family, after the peace, in order to make rockets for the expedition against Callao. By some fatality his rockets failed, and he has been living on here in hopes of employment. But the mercantile speculations of the minister Rodriguez have diverted the funds that should repair public works and repay public artificers into such very different channels, that I fear poor Goldsegg, with all his merit, will add one to the many victims of disappointed hope.

From the powder-mills the road continues along a low rich plain, watered by numerous artificial streams, and surrounded by hills; at the foot of one of the steepest of these, we beheld the water of the *Salta* (Leap) leaping from cliff to cliff, from the summit, sometimes concealed by tufted wood, and sometimes shining in the midday sun. Those who have seen the Cascatelle of Tivoli, have seen the only thing I remember at all to be compared to this; but there is no villa of Mecænas to crown the hill, no Sybil's temple to give the charm of classic poetry to the scene. I was a few minutes apart from my companions; and, as a dense cloud rolled from the Andes across the sky, I could, in the spirit of Ossian, have believed, that the soul of some old Cacique had flitted by; and, if he regretted that his name and nation were no longer supreme here, was not ungratified at the sight of the smiling cultivated plain his labours had tended to render fruitful; nor, it may be, of me, as one of the white children of the East, whence freedom to the sons of the Indians was once more to arise. However that may be, the cloud passed, and my good horse began to make way up one of the steepest pieces of road any four-footed thing, except a goat, ever thought of climbing; so that I began to think I had a good chance of being drowned in one of the water-courses, after having crossed the ocean. However, a short time brought both horse and rider safe to the top of the cliff, about two hundred and fifty feet or thereabouts, more rather than less, of actual

height above the knoll where we first saw the Salta, and where there is a little village. Here I dismounted, and by the assistance of two of my friends, stepped across one of the water-channels to have a perfect view of the work, and of the fall below. We had not descended, perceptibly, since we left Santiago; yet, though we had climbed the steep cliff of the fall, we found ourselves still on the plain of the city; having between it and us a very high hill, whose base is uneven, so that the north side rests below the fall, and the south side above it. On either side, the country appears to the eye perfectly level. The river Mapocho flows from the Andes through the upper plain; the lower one is without a natural stream, but the land is evidently better than that above. The Caciques observing this, cut channels through the granite rock, from the Mapocho to the edge of the precipice, and made use of the natural fall of the ground to throw a considerable stream from the river into the vale below: this is divided into numerous channels, as required; and the land so watered is some of the most productive in the neighbourhood of the city. The Indian chiefs, instead of one large channel, have dug three smaller ones, directing them to the centre of the vale, and to the sides of the hills on either hand, so as to fertilise the whole district; an advantage as great to the admirer of picturesque beauty as to the cultivator. To the beautiful artificial waterfalls praised by travellers, I must add this, which is quite as rich in natural beauty as Tivoli; and as singular, as a work of early art, as the channel by which the Velinus falls into the Nar. I appreciate the work of the Caciques the better for having seen that of the Roman consul; and only regret that I am not a poet to immortalise these beautiful waters which precipitate themselves into the vale below, and reappear in sparkling rills to fertilise the plain beyond. We left the fall with regret to return to the city, or rather to go to it by a very different road. We proceeded over a plain completely covered with shingle, and only here and there a clump of some low sweet shrubs, of which the horses are very fond. This is the winter channel of the Mapocho, which covers the land far and near with its waters, and rolls these pebbles over it.

Half way between the Salta and the city, we stopped at a quinta belonging to the brother of Madame Cotapos, or, as I ought properly to call her; Doña Mercedes de Cotapos. This gentleman, Don Henriquez Lastra, the ex-director of Chile, is at present entirely removed from public life, and devotes himself to the cultivation of his farm or hacienda, and to making various experiments for the improvement of the wines of the country. He has succeeded in making a wine little if at all inferior to champaign; and his ordinary wine, in which he has pursued the Madeira method, is like the best *vino tinto* of Teneriffe. In general the wines here are sweet and heavy. His fields appear to me to be in excellent order; and all about the farm looks more like European farming than any thing I had seen in this country. Don Henriquez was not at home when we arrived, but we were most kindly welcomed by his lady, who is of the family of Izquierda de Xara Quemada. She was in the midst of her eight fine children, instructing some, and working for others. The house is small, but new building is going on sufficient to double its size; and the principal rooms are to be built with chimneys, and English grates are to supersede brasseros: these steps towards improvement are great in this country, which has hitherto remained, of all others, the most backward, partly from political, partly from moral and physical causes peculiar to itself. The ex-director soon came in: he appeared to be a plain sensible man, of simple but courteous manners; and, very soon, in his conversation I discerned a polish that here must have been acquired from books, and a strength that the circumstances of an active life engaged in such a revolution as has taken place may well have produced. Yet I should think him a slow man, and, perhaps, not gifted with that readiness and presence of mind calculated to meet extraordinary occurrences which are absolutely necessary for public men at such a time. The present study of Don Henriquez is small, and might excite a smile in a London or Parisian statesman, accustomed to all the luxuries of labour; but the new house will give room to a larger library, directed by the same good sense that has hitherto preferred useful to ornamental learning.

The luncheon at Don Henriquez's was all the produce of the farm. Sausages as good as those of Bologna; bread of his own wheat, as white as that made of the Sicilian grain; butter that the dairies of England might have been proud of; and of the wines I have spoken already. I was delighted with the visit in every way; the hospitality of the house, and the improvements going on, which must all tend to the good of the country.

Soon after we reached home, I received a magnificent present of fruit and flowers from Doña Rosa O'Higgins. The fruit was watermelons, lucumas, oranges, and sweet limes, no others being as yet in season; and the flowers, of all the finest and rarest. They were arranged on trays, covered with embroidered napkins, and borne on the heads of servants in the full dress of the palace livery; one out of livery entering first to pay me a compliment from the lady. At night the young ladies Cotapos, and their brother, Don Jose Antonio, danced for me the cuando, a national dance. It is performed by two persons, and begins slowly like a minuet; it then quickens according to the music and the song, which represent a sort of loving quarrel and final agreement; the skill of the dancer consisting in holding his body steady, beating the ground with inconceivable quickness with his feet in a measure called *zapatear* (*to shoe*). Doña Mariquita played and sung the song which she herself has adapted to the music, the ordinary verses being love verses, which she does not choose to sing, being proper for the gentleman to sing to his partner. But there are several songs to the cuando; and in the country where Sancho Pança's language is spoken, it is to be supposed that some are burlesque, *

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* *First Cuando.*

" Anda ingrata que algun dia
Con las mudanzas del tiempo,
Lloraras como yo lloro,
Sentiras como yo siento.
Cuando, cuando,
Cuando, mi vida cuando.

30th. — Santa Rosa's day, which is kept as a great festival here: first, because Santa Rosa is a South American saint; and secondly, because it is the day of His Excellency the Director's sister. Every body of course called at the palace to leave cards of compliment. I am in no state of spirits for public amusements; but in a new country they are always to be observed, as they indicate more or less surely the genius of the people: I therefore determined to take a box at the theatre to-night; and accordingly, after taking matee with the ladies Izquierda, I went with my friends to the play at Santiago. On one side of the square, between the palace of the Consulado and the Jesuits' church, a gate in a low wall admitted us to a square, in which there is a building that reminded me of a provincial temporary theatre; but the earthquakes of Chile apologise for any external meanness of building but too satisfactorily: the interior is far from contemptible; I have seen much worse in Paris. The stage is deep, the scenery very good, but the proscenium mean. On the green curtain, there is wrought in letters of gold —

Cuando sera esa dia
De aquella feliz Mañana,
Que nos lleven a los dos,
El chocolate a la Cama."

There is another of this class, of which I have not caught the Spanish words; but the lover asks the lady, when, when she will call his mother hers, and his sister hers: the first lines, however, are the same.

Second Cuando.

" Cuando, cuando,
Cuando yo me muere.
No me lloren los parientes,
Lloren me las Alembiques,
Donde sacan Aquardientes,
A la plata me remito,
Le demas es boberia,
Andar con la boca seca,
E la bariga vacia."

These are both favourites with the Chinganas, and used to be not unacceptable to all classes, till within these very few years. But the opening the ports of South America, by permitting a free intercourse with strangers, has rendered the taste of the higher ranks more nice.

" Aqui es el espejo del vertud y del vicio,
Mirados en el y pronunciad juicio."

The Director's box is on the right hand of the stage, it is handsomely fitted up with silk of the national colours, blue, red, and white, bordered with gold fringe. Opposite is the box of the Cabildo, a little less handsome, but decorated with the same colours. The theatre is a very favourite amusement here, and most of the boxes are taken by the year, so that it was by favour only that I obtained one to-night: the theatre was quite full, and the general beauty of the women was particularly conspicuous on the occasion. Shortly after we were seated, the Director and his family, including the little Indian girls, came in. I am so accustomed to see respect paid to the actual sovereign of a country, that I instantly rose and courtesied, and was quite abashed to see that I was the only person in the house who did so: however, it passed for a particular compliment, and was particularly returned. The national hymn was then called for and sung, and played as is usual before the beginning of the piece. One party of ladies became conspicuous, by sitting down, turning their backs, and talking loud during the playing of the hymn, — a piece of gross and imprudent impertinence, that would have been tolerated no where but under the good-natured eye of the Director O'Higgins. *

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* On the 20th of September, 1819, the national hymn, of which the following is the first verse and chorus, was published by authority of government, and ordered to be sung at the theatre before every play. There are ten verses, all good; but it is too long.

" Ciudadanos, — el amor Sagrado
De la Patria os convoca á la lid:
Libertad es el eco de alarma
La divisa *triumfar o morir.*
" El cadalso, ó la antigua cadena,
Os presenta el soberbio Español:
Arrancad el puñal al tirano,
Quebrantad ese cuello feroz.
" Coro. — Dulce Patria, recibe los votos
Con que, Chile en tus aras juró,
Que ó la tumba serais de los libres,
O el asilo contra la opresion," &c.

The actors have one good quality, — they speak very plainly; but they are very tame, and rather seem to be repeating a lesson, than either speaking or declaiming: the piece may be to blame for this. It was "King Ninus the Second;" but I cannot recollect any king of that name who ever had a tragical story of the kind belonging to him: and I have no books here, and no literary ladies, or even gentlemen, so I must rest in ignorance; though, if I remember right, there is something like the history of Zenobia in the plot: however, there is a great deal of love and murder in it.

The farce was the "Madmen of Seville." The graciosa of the piece a beggar, has by some accident got into the bedlam of the city, and the amusement consists in the different tricks played to him by the patients of the hospital, who each insist on taking him as a companion. I was half sorry not to be able to join in the excessive mirth apparently caused by the piece, but I was rather glad when it was over: we all enjoyed some ices very much, which were brought into the box; and we were not the only persons who regaled themselves in the same manner, though I think sweetmeats and wine seemed to be the favourite refreshments. The gallery is appropriated to the soldiers, who enter gratis.

Saturday, August 31st. — Having ascertained that there was no saint in the way to prevent us, Mr. De Roos and I set out once more this morning to see what we could of the city; and meeting Mr. Prevost, we availed ourselves of his polite offer of showing us the mint. It is, indeed, a magnificent building, — I was going to say, too magficent for Chile, till I recollected that it was erected by the Spanish government chiefly for the assay and stamping of the product of those rich mines, which the mother country long considered as the only objects to be attended to in her American dominions. The building is of a single range of fine Doric three-quarter columns and pilasters, which cover two stories; *i. e.* the public works below, and the houses of the officers above. On entering a handsome gate, another interior building, like the cell of a temple, of the same order, presents itself; and there the treasury, and mint, and assay office are situated. The

machinery is clumsy beyond what I could have imagined, and the improvement talked of is to be on a French model; which will be more expensive than one of Boulton's, and, compared with it, is as the old hammer for striking coin is to the screw dies now used here. The greater part of the coin still current in Chile is of rough pieces of silver, weighed and cut in any shape, and struck with the hammer, and far ruder than any I had seen before. This mode of coining is, however, now discontinued; and the scarcely less tedious method of first punching the metal, and then placing each piece by hand in the screw, has taken place of it. The assay department, however, is in a better, *i. e.* a more modern state; but I am too sorry a chemist to be able to give a proper account of it. I understand government has it in contemplation to issue a coinage of low value, which will be of great advantage to the people. I have often been struck with the inconvenience of the want of small coin here. There is nothing in circulation under the value of a quartillo, or quarter of a real, which, if the dollar be worth four shillings and sixpence, is more than three half-pence; and quartillos are not coined here, and are so scarce, that I have only seen three since April: consequently we may call the smallest common coin the medio, or near threepence halfpenny; a sum for which, at the price of bread and beef here, a whole family may be fed. What then is the single labourer to do? This evil, great as it is, has occasioned a greater. In order to accommodate purchasers with a quantity under the value of a medio, or quartillo, the owners of *pulperias* (a kind of huckster's shops) give in exchange for dollars or reals promissory notes: but these notes, even where the article bought is half a dollar, and the note for half, the pulperia man will not discount in cash, but in goods; so that he makes sure of the poor man's whole coin, besides the chance that a peasant, who does not read or write, may lose or destroy the note itself. Many and rapid fortunes have been made by these notes, and the loss to the poor has amounted to more than any one of the government direct taxes. This has not been overlooked by some of the great merchants connected with the minister here; and a number of retail shops have been set up at their expense, though under the names of

inferior agents. And this is probably one of the reasons for the delay of the very necessary coinage of small money.

From the mint we went to the Consulado, where I meant to have been at the very beginning of the sitting. I had previously asked the Director if there was any objection to a woman going thither. He told me his mother and sister had gone on the first day, and that it was open to strangers; but in case the unusual appearance of a lady should startle the members, he would speak to the President. Mr. De Roos and I went thither, unhappily without any person to tell us who was who. However, we knew that the President was *Albano*, the deputy from Talca, and the Vice-president Camillo Henriquez, the editor of the "Mercurio de Chile," and an occasional poet.

We entered just as the house was passing a resolution, that in discussing the project of laws, the consent of two-thirds of the members should be necessary for the passing each article. There were not above twenty members present, and about half a dozen lookers-on besides ourselves. The chamber is a very fine one, from its great size. At one end is the President's seat, under a very handsome canopy of blue, red, and white, enriched with gold. When the Director appears this is his place, and the President sits on his right hand; the Deputies sit on benches close to the wall on either side, the Secretaries and Vice-president at a table immediately before the President, and the spectators on benches like those of the members, only at a greater distance from the President. After all, I thought it was a strange position for an English woman and an English midshipman to be assisting at the deliberation of a national representative assembly in Chile. But what in Addison's time would have been *romance*, is now, every day, matter of fact. I was in the Mahratta capital while it was protected by an English force; I have attended a *protestant* church in the Piazza de Trajano in Rome; I sat as a spectator in an *English* court of justice in Malta: and what wonder that I should now listen to the free deliberations of a national representative meeting in a Spanish colony? Perhaps the world never experienced so great a change as in the last thirty-five years: that *all* should have been for the better, no one, who reflects on the imperfect

state of humanity, will believe; but I will hope that most of these changes have bettered the general condition of human nature. How long I might have gone on musing I do not know, if the Vice-President and Secretary had not interrupted the silence that followed the resolution passed when we entered, by reading the report of it to the President, who having approved of it, the house proceeded. The President then read a message from the Director, submitting to the assembly the propriety of sending envoys to different foreign states, and desiring them to appoint proper salaries. This gave rise to a lively discussion of a much freer tone than I had expected in so young a convention, especially one appointed by the executive power alone. To the expediency of sending the envoys there was no opposition; but on the appointing salaries there were several questions; — first, could it be done before the actual revenue of the country was ascertained and reported to the convention; and next, could a grant of money be made for a new purpose while the army was so greatly in arrear (upwards of 18,000 dollars)? They might have added the navy also. The speech of the President on opening the business, and also his reply to the proposed amendment requesting that the public accounts should be looked into before funds were allotted for such a purpose, were extremely clever, and delivered with the ease and eloquence of a man accustomed to speak in public: he is a priest. The discussion was very warm, but carried on with great decorum, the members, in their ordinary dresses, standing up in their places; and when two rose at once, he that first caught the President's eye had the preference.

I was very much gratified with my visit to the convention, and withdrew from it with hopes of a speedier and firmer settlement of a regular government here than I had hitherto allowed myself to entertain.

It seems to me, that the progress made is astonishing; but I believe that men, like other articles, arise when there is a demand for them. There are elements in Chile for the formation of a state; but education is wanting before that which essentially constitutes a state will be found; *i. e.* —

"Men, high-minded men —
Men who their duties know;
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain."

Hitherto a strong feeling of resentment against past tyranny, on the part of Spain, has urged them on: but their ideas still continue essentially Spanish; and time and education are still wanting to develop and form the Chileno national character.

On returning home I found Doña Isabella and Doña Rosa O'Higgins waiting to see me; though I had been assured it was impossible they should call at the house of Cotapos. But, now that there is not one of the Carreras left, and that that faction is believed to be at an end, it is surely the business of those at the head of the affairs of Chile to buy golden opinions of all sorts of men; and I have no doubt but that they are glad I am here as an excuse to call without the formalities of reconciliation.

In the evening I went to the palace, and had a great deal of conversation with the Director, especially concerning the early part of the revolution, in which he has borne so conspicuous a share. Mentioning the scarcity of arms, while the patriot army occupied the banks of the Maule, he said that the people had often no arms but the yokes of their oxen, with which they fought the royalists hand to hand. He himself, among other expedients, had a wooden cannon made, bound round with green hide, which stood four discharges and then burst. I engaged him to speak of his own part in public affairs, which he did modestly and freely; until several gentlemen entering, the conversation became general. It turned upon the affairs of the *Libertador* Simon Bolivar, and the reception of the Spanish deputies in the Caraccas; deprecating the idea of listening to any terms not founded on the acknowledgment of the independence of Spanish America.

I left the palace early, and then walked across the square to see the evening shopping in the arcades, which is quite as pretty a scene as I expected it to be: every little bench has its candle or lamp; the best wares are displayed; and, as it is a sort of dressed lounge, the ladies look particularly well. This place is beautiful by day, but by

moonlight is still more so, — the defects are less seen, the beauties more observed. At night the shadows cast by the far-projecting roofs prevent our noticing the lowness of the houses; but the wide streets, and handsome public buildings, and, above all, the lofty mountains, which tower above every thing, and which, although at least twenty miles hence, seem actually to touch the city, appear to the greatest advantage.

Sunday, Sept. 1st, 1822. — I went this evening with my friends to the house of the ladies Godoy, where we found M. Prevost, and about a dozen other persons, apparently waiting for us to take a walk into the country. Accordingly we set off, the elder ladies in caleches, the rest of us on foot, to the plain where the Chinganas usually are. But, alas! no Chinganas were there. The city is making a nine-days' rogation to St. Isidore for rain; and the amusements of the common people are hushed by way of assistance. However, though the musicians' waggons are banished from the plain, there is the usual quantity of frying, roasting, and codling, going on at the fruit-stalls, and at least as much drinking; and the people gaping about, seemingly wondering what St. Isidore and the rogation have to do with the singing-women, who must to-day lose their accustomed reals and medios. However they take it quietly, and say, "To be sure the gardens want rain, and the padres know best how to pray." When all our party had reached the plain, we walked towards one of the prettiest parts of it, and there we found that the servants of the house of Godoy had laid carpets, and set chairs and cushions for the party; and, at little tables adjoining, they were making tea and matee with milk, and had fruits and cakes for the party. As soon as we were seated, Doña Carmen Godoy presented us each with a flower; she is remarkably lively, and had some pleasant thing to say to each. The cavaliers began to serve the ladies, and we passed an hour very pleasantly, and then walked about among the people, observing their different dresses and games. The young ladies are not allowed by custom to take the arm of a cavalier, although they waltz and dance with them. Some few fair Chilenos are beginning to break through this rule; but our young ladies continue to be exceedingly punctil-

ous. The people of Chile, in their taste for rural amusements, put me in mind of what we are told of the inhabitants of the happy valley of Cashmeer, who spend their days and moonlight nights in skiffs, floating about their lovely lake, or wandering in the flowery islands that adorn it. A Chileno family knows no pleasure greater than a walking or riding party into the country; a matee taken in a garden, or on the brow of a hill under some huge tree; and all ranks seem sensible to the same enjoyment. At sunset we all adjourned to the Casa Cotapos, where the young people sung and danced to a late hour.

In the forenoon, Don Camilo Henriques, the deputy from Valdivia, and the last month's secretary to the convention, called; he is clever and agreeable: with him was Dr. Vera, a man of literature and a poet. He has the talent of extemporary versification, if what I hear be true, in as great a degree as Metastasio; and it is also said that his written poetry is as polished. This gentleman is a perfect Albino: his hair, eyes, and complexion, all are like those we sometimes see in Europe; but his intellect is far from partaking of the weakness which has generally been observed to accompany the physical peculiarity of the Albinos: on the contrary, it is above the common rate of his countrymen; indeed I may say more, Dr. Vera would figure as a literary man in Europe. He is lately released from the discomfort of a goitre: his was remarkably large, so much so indeed as to threaten him with suffocation, when a friend advised him to bathe it with Cologne water. This he did diligently several times a day, and the swelling is now so decreased that he wears a neckcloth like another man; and I did not perceive that he had a goitre till I was told of it. Nobody pretends to account for this cure: I write it as he relates it.

2d Sept.— At ten o'clock Mr. Prevost, Mr. de Roos, Doña Mariquita, Don Jose Antonio, and I, set off to see the baths of Colinas, about ten leagues or a little more from the city. The first three leagues of road are on that which leads to Mendoza, and lie along a plain, for the most part stony, with the exception of a little rise, called the Portesuelo or Gap, by which we passed between two hills

to another part of the plain; the part near the city is covered principally with garden grounds, irrigated from the Salta de Agua: beyond the Portesuelo, we came to a very extensive hacienda belonging to one of the Izquierdas, where every thing was in preparation for the annual rodeo. The scenery of a cattle farm, being like that of our forest lands at home, is much more picturesque than any other; but it is wilder, and gives less the air of civilisation. We passed along by the foot of a high mountain projecting immediately from the Andes for about four leagues more, and then entered the Gargana, or gorge of the mountain in which the baths are situated. The approach to it is marked by wider channels of floods, now partially dried, higher trees, and more varied though confined scenery. We had passed in the morning several farm-houses; at one of which we had stopped to rest, and get refreshments. The farm servants being all about, gave an air of liveliness and interest. But now we lost sight of all marks of habitation, and proceeded along the gorge by a narrow path made with some labour, but scarcely safe for five or six miles, when we came to the baths. Nothing can be more desolate than their appearance now, and perhaps the dulness of the day contributed to that effect. Midwinter still reigns; no grass enlivens the red mountain side; but here and there an evergreen shrub, with its spiry buds still closely folded, overhangs the valley below. A bright beautiful stream breaks its way down the whole vale, and the sources of this are the celebrated baths. From under the living rock, several copious springs gush out at a temperature not below 100° of Fahrenheit. The water is perfectly limpid, and without peculiar taste or smell, but is said to acquire both if bottled up a few hours. Over the fountain heads, two little ranges of brick buildings, each divided into several rooms (three I think in one, and four in the other, or three in each), are built to protect the baths from rain or from dust: the water is lodged in hollows of the rock, with a brick facing, in which there is a square outlet to permit it to run out freely; so that through each basin there is a constant stream passing, and not communicating with any other. The quantity of hot water is so great, that on flowing out of the baths, with the

addition of one small branch, it forms the river Colinas, which has a meandering course of upwards of thirty leagues, and feeds the lake of Pudaguel. Adjoining to the baths are three long ranges of buildings, each containing ten or twelve apartments, and a general veranda along the front of the whole; and these furnish the accommodation for the bathers who frequent Colinas in the summer, that is, from November till June. The waters are considered good for rheumatism, jaundice, scrofula, and all cutaneous diseases. One range of buildings is for the accommodation of the poorer sort, and there the rooms are about six feet by seven; and into each a whole family will creep; having first built a shed for a kitchen in some contiguous spot. The rich are accommodated in the same manner, only that their rooms are larger, some of them being fifteen feet square. But while at Colinas, people live chiefly out of doors; for then the mountain side is beautiful with flowers, and the woods are dry and shady. The little chapel occupies the prettiest spot in the valley; but now it is shut up, neither priest nor parishioner being tempted to winter here among the snow and barrenness. So in the first week in June or earlier, the patients withdraw, the doors are shut up, the priest takes the key of his chapel, and all is left in solitude.

We seated ourselves in one of the verandas, and ate the luncheon we had brought with us; and I was so cold that I was glad to drink the warm water from the spring with my wine, and warm my hands in it. While the horses were getting ready, Doña Mariquita and I had the curiosity to enter one of the rooms which we found open, and dearly we paid for our curiosity; for we were instantly covered with myriads of fleas, who I suppose had had no fresh food for several months, for they attacked us so unmercifully, that I thought I had some violent eruption on my skin. After we had mounted and reached the little knoll behind the chapel, I stood a moment to look back at the tenantless houses, deserted fane, bare bleak banks, and now darkly lowering clouds; so different from the cheerful character which I have been told belongs to it in summer, when the sick and old who come in quest of health and vigour, bear a small proportion to the young and strong who come in search of pleasure or beauty, which last the Colinas waters are firmly believed to bestow: but though Doña Mariquita and I applied them to our faces, we were not sensible of any change; and so had no fairy tales to tell after our journey. As soon as we quitted the gorge, instead of pursuing the road back to the city, we turned to the right; and after a gallop of three leagues arrived at the village of Colinas, the first stage from St. Iago to Mendoza, and about half way between the city and the famous field of Chacabuco.

About half a mile beyond the church of Colinas is the hacienda of Don Jorge Godoy, with whose lady and daughter I am well acquainted. There we were to sleep, and so return home in the morning. We found the old gentleman sitting at his door after the fatigues of the day in his cap and slippers, and poncho. He very rarely goes to town, but resides here with his nephew, like a patriarch in the midst of his husbandmen. It began to rain heavily, to the credit of St. Isidore, as soon as we got into the house; and we congratulated ourselves on being sheltered from the storm, and having the comfort of a huge brassero of coals, and sheepskins laid under our

feet while we took matee, more refreshing still than tea after a day's journey.

In due time a most plentiful supper appeared, beginning with eggs in various forms, followed by stews and ollas of beef, mutton, and fowls, and terminated by apples; to which full justice was done, from the egg to the apple, as well as to Don Jorge's wines.

September 3d. — This morning the sun rose clear and bright, and discovered the Andes, and even the nearer hills, completely covered with snow which fell last night, while it rained below. Before breakfast we were shown the storehouses of the farm. First, the granary, now nearly emptied of its wheat: on one part of the spare floor a well-dried hide was spread, and on it fresh beef for immediate use, according to the fashion of the country, cut in strips about three inches wide, the bones being thrown away. There were, besides, hanging round thongs of every kind, and laças, and bands all ready for use. Within the granary was a second *dispense*, hung round with tallow candles; on the floor, there were many hundred arobas of tallow in skins, ready for sale; and, in one corner, I saw a heap of skimmings, *i. e.* the refuse fat after the melting of the suet for tallow. This, I find, is what the peons use, instead of butter or oil, to enrich their cookery, and it is as necessary to them as ghee to an East Indian. In another place, were the yokes and goads for the oxen, and the spades for the diggers of water-channels, &c.; these are of very hard wood, with a long handle, the use of iron spades being, as yet, confined to the gardens near the city and places near the port, where foreigners have made them common. A side-door in the storehouse admitted us into a square court; on one side of which is the butchery, where, in the proper season, that is, late in autumn, the beasts are slaughtered for hides, tallow, and charqui. At present it looks like an unfinished shed; in the season it is covered with green boughs, in order that the animals, and all about them, may be kept cool. On one side of the square is a melting-house for the tallow. The pots are made of clay upon the estate; they are two inches and a half thick. Next to the melting-house is the shed with

furnaces for boiling the lees, which they put into the wine to hasten the fermentation; and beyond, a still of the simplest kind for making brandy. From sixteen to twenty labouring families live on the estate, and twice or thrice that number of hired peons are employed at different seasons, when there is a press of work. The wages of these are high, not from the high price of food, but from the want of hands.

The low population of Chile, notwithstanding the natural fruitfulness of the soil, and a climate favourable to human life, is not wonderful. The grants of land to the first Spanish settlers still remain, for the greater part, unrevoked. These are so extensive, that between Santiago and Valparaiso three superior lords, or mayorasgos, possess the soil. Now the original proprietors, intent only on the procuring of the precious metals, the only thing then looked for in this country, cultivated no more of the land than was sufficient for the supplying their household with necessaries: this cultivation, scanty as it was, was performed by encomiendas, or duty-work, done by the Indians; and this was a species of slavery highly unfavourable to the advance of population. In the first year of the revolution, duty-work and slavery were utterly abolished. Servants are now paid, and they are beginning to have houses of their own, with little gardens. Yet still much duty-work is done, in fact, by the peons and half Indians on every estate, although it may not be strictly legal: but what are the poor to do? They must take their shelter and their food from some employer, and the employer will often exact from his servant labours beyond the law. Government has it now in contemplation to empower mayorasgos to sell small portions of their lands, and to grant either long or perpetual leases, by which means the soil will fall into the hands of those who have a personal interest in it, and population will grow with the means of supporting it.

On our return from the farm-yard we found an excellent breakfast awaiting us, and our horses brought in from the clover (lucern) field to be saddled while we ate; and then returned to Santiago, which we reached about one o'clock.

I spent the evening in my room, where the young ladies came occasionally to me; and Mr. De Roos, Don Jose Antonio, and Don Domingo Reyes, spent the evening. Don Domingo is a grave, well-informed, kindly person, to whom I am obliged for much of the knowledge I have of the country, both historical and physical. His father was secretary to Don Ambrose O'Higgins, and to several other captains-general; he was even so to Osorio, in the interval between the battle of Rancagua and that of Chacabuco, after which he emigrated. But his conduct had always been so honest and honourable that all parties trusted him, and none disliked him. He was therefore recalled, his property restored, and himself employed. The character of Don Domingos is one formed by the times: a pre-eminent point in it is love for the father he has seen so tried. And he is pious, — I should say almost to superstition, did I not know what a life he has seen; yet he is quietly cheerful, and actively kind to his friends, and possesses a most affectionate disposition. My friend Don Antonio has neither the knowledge, nor intelligence, nor cultivation of Reyes; but he is good-natured and kind-hearted. He takes half a dozen matees when he first rises, smokes segars all day, goes to his counting-house I believe regularly, and at night loves to dance cuandos, and sing, and play the guitar better elsewhere than at home; all this is not very unnatural, and moreover not inconsistent with the character of a Chile beau: to-night he sung and played very pleasantly several of the songs with which the young gentlemen of Chile serenade their loves; a custom at least as prevalent here as in Italy. After all, the most beautiful thing of the kind in the world is Shakspeare's own, " Hark, the lark at heaven's gate sings;" which puts to shame all other minstrelsy to ladies sleeping, or waking in the hope of hearing music.

Thursday, Sept. 5th. — A large party, consisting of the whole of the Cotapos family, and a number of others, amounting to thirty, including Mr. Prevost, Mr. De Roos, and myself, spent a day in the country. The ladies who did not ride went in *carretons*, small covered vehicles of the country, in which they sit on carpets and cushions. The ser-

vants and provisions were in another, thatched at the top exactly like a cottage. The whole party was collected in the pateo of the Casa Cotapos, and set off by nine o'clock, as gay as youth, health, and a resolution to be pleased, could make them. I should say *us;* for, at least in the resolution to be pleased, I equalled the rest.

After a short pleasant ride of about five miles to the eastward, we reached Nnuñoa, a pleasant village, where the bishop has a seat, and where, a chacra having been lent us for the purpose, we spent a most agreeable day. The place is exceedingly pretty, being full of gardens and orchards, and surrounded by corn-fields; and the rich background of mountains on every side, especially the cold snowy Andes, set off the flowery fields of Nnuñoa to the greatest advantage.

Doña Mariquita and I, with two or three others, among whom was Doña Mariquita's father, Don Jose Miguel de Cotapos, a most gentlemanlike old man, in his poncho of plain Vicunha wool of the natural colour, and his broad hat, his silver-mounted bridle, stirrups, &c., rode off to a casita about two leagues farther on. — I should have described our party. Don Jose Miguel was not the only man in a poncho, or rather few went without, though several of the young men had tied theirs round their waists, instead of wearing them over their shoulders. Most had Chileno saddles, with all manner of carpets and skins upon them. All the ladies had English saddles; the greater number of female riders had coloured spencers, and long white skirts with close bonnets and flowers; two had small opera-hats and feathers, and beautiful silk dresses; only my maid and I had sober riding-habits. We looked like some gay cavalcade in a fairy tale, rather than people going to ride soberly on the earth; and I was sorry that I could not sketch the figures. Here Mariquita in scarlet and white, and a becoming black beaver bonnet; there Rosario with a brown spencer, flowing white skirt, straw bonnet, and roses not so gay as her cheeks; then Mercedes Godoy and another Mercedes, with feathers gracefully waving in the wind, reining up their managed horses, and their silks glittering in the sun: and by their sides the merry Erreda with his green frock; Jose Antonio with his poncho

of turquois blue, striped with flowers; and De Roos with his grey silk jacket and sunny British countenance. While Reyes and some of the graver men attended the carretons, where the elder ladies were all dressed in gala habits. Such was the show at Nnuñoa, when our small party determined to ride on to the Casita de Gaña, the most elevated dwelling in the neighbourhood. The road to it is very beautiful, between fields of corn and olive gardens, and through a pretty hamlet; whence a lane, bordered by willows just coming into leaf, leads to the casita. It is a small house, decorated with coloured paper and prints, and only calculated for a few days' summer residence. It is so high on the slope of the cordillera that the master can always command snow to cool his drink; and he has two unfailing springs crossing his orchard. The view from hence is very fine: several villages and rich corn-land are in the fore-ground; then the city, with Sta. Lucia and San Cristoval, and the adjacent hills, which in other countries would be mountains; beyond that the plain, terminated by the Cuesta de Prado, now capped with snow.

On our return to the Nnuñoa we found our friends busy dancing to the quita. They had procured two musicians to hire, and were engaged in minuets, and Spanish country-dances, perhaps the most graceful in the world. But what most delighted me were the cuando and samba, danced and sung with more spirit than the city manners allow; yet still decorous. Dancing can express only two passions,— the hatred of war, and love. Even the grave minuet de la cour will, by its approaching, retiring, presenting of hands, separating, and final meeting, express the latter; how much more the rustic dance that gives the quarrel and reconciliation! This it is which makes dancing a fine art. The mere figures of dances where more than two are concerned, such as vulgar French or English dances, have as little to do with the poetry of dancing as the inventors of patterns for printed linens have to do with the poetry of painting. My Chilenos feel dancing; and even when they dance a Scotch reel, they contrive to infuse a little of the spirit of the muse into it.

The dancing was interrupted by dinner, after which a new talent was displayed by some of my friends. Doña Mariquita was first called on for a toast: she gave one in four couplets of graceful poetry adapted to the occasion and the company, with an ease that showed she was accustomed to extempore composition. This was followed by several others, some really witty from the gentlemen; and the young people of both sexes who possessed this charming talent exercised it when called on, equally without shyness and without ostentation.

In the evening I undertook to make tea for the dancers; after which we rode back to the city as gay a cavalcade as ever entered it, and the day was ended by a tertulla at the Casa Cotapos.

5th September.—Visited several persons, English and Chileno. I say nothing of the English here, because I do not know them except as very civil vulgar people, with one or two exceptions, Mr. B., for instance, commonly called Don Diego; he has lived many years here since the revolution, and says he has never met with injustice or unkindness in the country; he knows it better than most persons. Mr. C. has gone through much,—has I may say been a party in the southern war, lending his money, horses, and ships to the patriot cause; and he, I think, seems to possess the clearest ideas concerning the state of Chile of any man I have met with. And there are several very good people, some acting the fine gentleman, others playing the knave, just as it happens in other places; only I do wish that some more of the better specimens of English were here, for the honour of our nation and the benefit of Chile.

7th.—I went early to the national printing-office, which is creditable enough to the little state; but the types are very scanty. I doubt if they could print a quarto of four hundred pages. I bought the gazettes from 1818 to the present time; nothing was printed here before. I also got some laws, rules, and songs. Under the old Spanish government I believe Chile had no press at all, but am not quite sure; nor could I learn. But every thing necessary was printed

at Lima; *i. e.* every thing that the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the Grand Inquisitor chose to promulgate.

In the afternoon we went to visit the nuns of St. Augustin's. Thank God, by the new regulations the convents have all become so poor, that there is good hope the number will soon diminish. These nuns are old and ugly, with the exception of one, who is young, has sweet eyes, and is very pale; a dangerous beauty for a cavalier: she moved my pity. The old ladies gave us matee, the best I have tasted, made with milk and Chile cinnamon; and the cup was set in a tray of flowers, so that both taste and smell were gratified. This convent is one of the finest in Chile, having seven quadrangles: we saw through the parlour into one of them, where, in the centre of a pool, there is the ugliest Virgin that man ever cut in stone, intended to spout water from her mouth and breast; but she is now idle, as the fountain is under repair; and the masons, with half a dozen soldiers to guard them or the nuns, were busy round the pool. During the short time I remained at the grate, I heard more gossip than I have done for months, and perceived that the recluses continue to take a lively interest in the things of this wicked world. I was not sorry when summoned to go to another place; and having left a golden remembrancer with the good ladies, I accompanied Mr. Prevost and Mr. de Roos to the public library. There may be about ten or twelve thousand volumes lodged for the present in the college; but the convent of San Domingo having offered its library to the state, these books are to be transferred thither as soon as rooms are ready, and the whole will then be open to the public. The librarian is Don Manuel de Salas y Corbalan, a polite and well-informed man, who showed me a beautiful Cluverius, and told me he prided himself on the collection of voyages, travels, and geography. Law fills up half the shelves; and there is a great proportion of French, but little English, and of that little Vancouver's Voyage is best known; because as it has slandered Chile, they are all too angry here not to point it out to all visitors. I met in the library the deputy Albano, whom I

had seen as president of the Convention, and with whom I had an hour's pleasant conversation. In passing by the law-shelves he said, "Here is the plague of Chile: thirty seven thousand of these ordi- "nances are still in force, and there are at least thrice the number "of commentaries on them. The Chilenos are extremely litigious; "it is honourable to have a pleyto; and yet a pleyto often lasts for "years, and ruins more families than all the other causes of ruin, "except gambling, put together." Albano hopes to effect some establishment analogous to that of our justices of the peace, to obviate the evil of arbitrary imprisonments, which are frequent here. He mentioned with respect a royal decree of 1718, for the guidance of the judges of districts in Spanish America, and seemed to wish that it might be adopted here as the basis of the civil administration.

I was so pleased with the President's discourse, that I was quite sorry to be reminded that I had already encroached on the complaisance of the librarian, and that the ladies Godoy expected me to take matee. To them I went, however, and met pretty Madame Blanco, the wife of the former Rear-admiral of Chile, now San Martin's naval commander-in-chief. She is gay and pleasing.

8th. — I bought my roan horse Fritz: he has white feet, and two blue eyes; is tall and strong, and never carried a woman in his life: but I wanted to give my pet *Charles* some rest, so thought twenty dollars not too much; therefore I gave it at once, mounted Fritz without ceremony, and rode to the Director's chacra with Mr. de Roos, to pay a forenoon visit. We were not allowed, however, to leave it before dinner. We found the ladies sitting in their garden, with their little Indian girls playing about them. This place is called the Conventilla, and belonged to the Franciscan friars, who long ago began building close to it a church to Our Lady, and collected money from every passenger for the completion of the chapel; which, however, never made any progress, notwithstanding the large sums that were levied in this manner on the public. The Director, therefore, bought all the ground, and bargained with the friars for their church;

so that he has caused that imposition to cease: besides, his purchasing, building, and planting to the extent he is doing, gives people confidence in the stability of the government; and that confidence of itself will contribute to the stability it looks to. This is rather a remarkable day in Chile: Rodriguez the bishop, who has long been an exile on account of his political principles, and his interference in state matters, has at length been recalled. A few days since he came privately to his lodge at Nnuñoa; and to-day he made his first public appearance in the cathedral. Before that ceremony he waited on the Director, who congratulated him on his return to his diocese, telling him he trusted that he would henceforth remember that the advancement of the age and of public opinion demanded a more liberal feeling and action in ecclesiastical matters, than was the case formerly; that he trusted to His Lordship's good sense to shape his conduct accordingly: but that while he was Director of Chile, neither pope nor priest should possess temporal power, or a right of exemption from the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the country. The bishop then proceeded to take fresh possession of the see, with what appetite he might; and performed a solemn Mass himself in the cathedral on the occasion. His restoration has given satisfaction to many of the devout, who have languished for their spiritual pastor; to numerous private connections, by whom the bishop is beloved; and more than all, to the families of persons exiled for political crimes, because seeing the greatest of these recalled, they may entertain hopes of the restoration of others. *

Fortunately for us there were no strangers but ourselves; and the

* A few days before I came to Santiago, the festival of St. Bernardo, the Director's patron, was celebrated. It had been the old Spanish custom for the captains-general of the province to grant some boon on their birth-days or saints'-days; and this year the Director was entreated to mark his feast by the recall of the exiles. He answered, "No;" I am but a private citizen, and have no business to distinguish my day; but if you apply to the Convention to mark the 18th of September, the anniversary of your independence, by such an act of grace, I will support the request with all the power and all the influence I possess."

Director readily led the conversation to the affairs of Chile, and to the events of his own life. * Of the recent affairs in Peru (the displacing Monteagudo, &c.) he expressed himself with regret, considering that minister's conduct, and the consequences of it, as a stain on the good cause. I wish I had dared to hint, that a conduct as bad, though in a different way, in Rodriguez, his own minister, was producing effects at least as vexatious here.

We walked a good deal about the gardens, and amused ourselves for some time with a fine telescope; through which the Director pointed out to me many farms on the plain of Maypu, in the line of the canal of irrigation which he has made since he was Director, where all was formerly barren, and behind whose thickets robbers and murderers concealed themselves, so that the roads were unsafe. These ruffians have now disappeared, and peaceful farms occupy the ground. From the garden we went in to dinner, where all was plain and handsome. English neatness gave the Chileno dishes every thing I had ever thought wanting in them. Doña Isabella, Doña Rosa, Doña Xaviera the Director's niece a beautiful young woman, and one aide-de-camp, besides ourselves, formed the whole party. The little Indians had a low table in the corner, where the little daughter of the Cacique presided; and where they were served with as much respect as Doña Rosa herself. The entrance of some strangers after dinner put an end to all confidential intercourse; and I then walked about the house with Doña Isabella. The ladies' bed-rooms are neat and comfortable every way. The Director, when here, sleeps on a little portable camp-bed; and to judge by his room, is not very studious of personal accommodation. At sunset we returned to town, and at the same time His Excellency's family went thither also to attend the opera, which Doña Rosa never misses. Their equipage is English; and though plain, handsome.

* By his permission, I have made use of this conversation in the sketch of the History of Chile.

Monday, September 9th. — This morning, Doña Rosario, Don Jose Antonio, Mr. de Roos, and I, attended by my peon Felipe, left the city on a little expedition to the hacienda of Don Justo Salinas, a son-in-law of my host. The road lies over the plain of Maypu, which is perfectly level between the city and the river, a distance of from twenty to thirty miles; and this is the part newly fertilised by the Director's canal, which waters the land formerly barren between the Mapocho and Maypu. The old Spanish government had at one time the same object in view; but after spending a large sum in preparation for the water-courses, nothing was done. The republic has laid out 25,000 dollars on the main canal; and by selling the land at a nominal valuation, a small annual quitrent only being payable, but requiring 500 dollars for the water sufficient for a large farm, has repaid itself, or rather I should say, has raised a large sum, — near 200,000 dollars, I am told. The proprietor of each farm is bound to face his part of the canal with stone, and to maintain the water-course. The crops are looking very fine all along the plain; the soil seems to me to be a light vegetable mould mixed with sand, and full of pebbles, as if it had been long under water; these pebbles are larger and more irregular on the plain than in the beds of the Mapocho or Maypu, excepting where the latter, in the very midst of its channel, has lodged or uncovered rocks of considerable size. Midway between the city and the river, one of the little ranges of hills which cross the plain at right angles with the Andes, and seem to connect the inferior ridges of the Prado and others with the grand cordillera, runs across the road, sinking completely into the plain before it reaches the mountain. The pass between the last little cone of this range and the main part is called the Portesuelo of St. Austin de Fango; and just at its entrance there are a few cottages, surrounded by some little orchards watered by an old cut from the Maypu, the sight of which was quite refreshing after a fifteen miles' ride without a variety. Fifteen miles more, very nearly as monotonous, brought us to the ford of the rapid and turbid Maypu. This river flows out of the Andes,

where there is a pass called the Portillo, little practised, because the sides are so steep as to afford no escape from the avalanches that continually roll down from above. It is, however, shorter than that by the Cumbre, and is often passable when the latter is not. I am told that the scenery in that deep valley, where the rapid flood breaks its way over a rugged bed, and makes frequent falls, is truly sublime; and were the season favourable, I should be tempted to go half a day's journey into it. The passage of the Maypu is exceedingly dangerous during the floods, and must be at times impassable, if I may judge by the depth of the banks on either side, which cannot be much less than forty feet; and the space between them must be nearly a quarter of a mile. Within this great bed the river now divides itself into several channels, which are all easily forded, the main branch indeed being deep and rapid: over this there is a bridge of the ancient Indian construction, which is used when the river is not fordable. It consists of upright poles, fixed at both sides of the stream; and across these thongs of hide are stretched, and these again interlaced with others, so as to make a swinging bridge, suspended now as it seems in mid air. This simple bridge is removed during the great floods, and replaced as soon as the ordinary passage is opened. On the north side of the river there is not a tree, and the eye ranges over an immense space without a rising ground of any kind; on the south side the country is richer, and more cultivated, particularly at Viluco; near which is the village and the chapel of Maypu, the parish church of an immense district. Viluca is an estate belonging to the Marques la Rayna, one of the richest men in Chile: it is worth about 25,000 dollars a year, and is in a high state of cultivation; a wall two full leagues in length separates it from the road, and I was really weary of it. The walls for enclosures here are formed of clay beaten hard into wooden frames fixed on the spot, and removed when filled to the end of the former piece, and filled again; so that when it is done, the wall looks as if of giant bricks. At length we came to a piece of bad muddy road on the banks of the little river Painé, which

Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edw.d Finden.

VIEW FROM L'ANGOSTURA DE PAINE.

runs rapidly from a projecting branch of the cordillera, which advances here so as almost to meet the Cerro de Penigue, and forms the narrow pass, or Angostura de Paine, commonly called here l'Angostura, through which the road leads to Rancagua. From Paine, where there is a post-house, the road is bordered on each side with magnificent trees, chiefly maytenes; and country-houses and rich plantations take place of the wide and wild plain we had passed. One of the finest estates belongs to the hospital of San Juan de Deos, and is rented by one of the Valdezes; and there we turned off the main road to follow the course of a beautiful river which flows out of the pass, and is therefore commonly called the Rio de l'Angostura. We passed some haciendas of Erreda's and Solar's, and then arrived at that of Salinas, where we were most kindly received by both master and mistress: she is the eldest daughter of my host and hostess, the widow of the unfortunate Juan José Carrera, who I trust has found in her second marriage some compensation for the sufferings endured during the first. She has one of the most beautiful faces I ever beheld: an eye both to entreat and to command; and a mouth which neither painter or sculptor, in his imagined Hebes or Graces, could equal. Her age is now only twenty-five; her countenance would say seventeen; and as I stood a moment entranced by her beauty, and remembered her story, I doubted whether I had not suddenly dreamed of things that romances only had hitherto brought me familiar with. Don Justo is a fine well-looking young man, two years younger than his wife. They were not a little delighted to see their brother and sister; but their welcome was almost as kind to Mr. de Roos and me.

The evening was excessively cold, a brisk wind from the mountain having set in; and we all crowded round the brassero, which was placed in the corner of a very pretty drawing-room, till supper was served, about nine o'clock; and we were complimented on having ridden well, as the distance from the city is upwards of fourteen leagues, which we had done in nine hours with the same horses,

including two hours' rest, which we had given our steeds, and some time wasted in mending my stirrup, which broke on the road.

10*th.* — Breakfast in Chile is usually at a latish hour, and consists sometimes of soup, or meat and wine; but every body takes matee or chocolate at their bed side. Doña Ana Maria, aware how different our customs are, sent tea, bread and butter, and eggs, to my room, for Mr. de Roos and me. I ought to describe the house. The outer door opens into the principal bed-room, which is the common sitting-room. On one side is a dressing-closet, and the nursery for the two little boys; on the other, the drawing-room; and beyond that the dining-room, a light cheerful apartment. A veranda runs along the front; and from it other apartments enter, such as Salinas' own room, and bed-rooms for guests. Doña Rosario and I occupied one, and Don Jose Antonio and Mr. de Roos another. But the privacy of bed-rooms is not respected in Chile as in England; so I find an additional advantage in my habit of rising early, as it anticipates intrusion. Great part of the day is passed in the veranda; and I do not wonder at it, the air is so pleasant and the view so fine. In the course of the day I saw almost the whole farm; and first I went into the vineyards. The principal one is two quadras, about the sixth of a mile, square: the vines are supported on stakes, and are pruned down to five feet in height. The soil between the rows is not annually loosened, as in Italy, but only once in twenty or thirty years the roots are laid open and trimmed. From the vineyard we proceeded to the orchard, where there are walnuts, peaches, plums, apricots, pears, and cherries, only beginning to blossom; because, besides that we are now nearly a degree farther to the south, we are nearer the mountain here, and more exposed to the chilly winds. From the orchard we went to look at the cows, which are very fine; the calves are beautiful. But the dairy is very ill managed here: with sixteen fine milch cows they do not make twelve pounds of butter a week; nay, sometimes not above half that quantity; and the quantity of cheese is inconsiderable, though both the butter

and cheese are exceedingly good. The sheep are very fine; their fleeces are good, and the wool is of a very long staple, and each fleece fetches at least three reals. The shearing time is October. I also saw a sheep from the Pehuenches with five horns, no two of which seemed to form a pair. Hanging up before the door, there was a young stuffed jaguar, commonly called the Chile lion, an inhabitant of the hills here, and very destructive among the sheep and the young cattle; but I believe it never meddles with man. Don Justo gave me the paw of a large one, which measures six inches across, and must have belonged to a very formidable brute. The cellars are fitted up with earthen jars sunk into the ground, in the same manner as the Jesuits tell us the Indians of the interior practised with their chicha jars. Into the smooth clay floor the jars are sunk nearly to the middle. Each cellar contained about sixty jars, every one holding twenty-five arobas: they are made of clay from the neighbouring hills, and four reals for each aroba they contain is the price. When the must is to be converted into wine, one aroba of boiling grape-juice is poured into every four arobas of must, to hasten the fermentation; the delicacy of making wine consisting in never allowing the juice actually to boil, but to stop it just on the point, lest it should communicate an empyreumatic taste to the wine. The jars are luted up for a season to ripen the liquor; which, when ready, is put into skins, for the merchant. I tasted several sorts of wine and must to-day, most of them very good; and the brandies exceedingly pleasant, though the stills are rudely constructed. In the fields here wheat yields an hundred-fold; barley seventy-fold. The ground is used one year for corn, and two for grazing; lucern being the artificial grass sown. However, some natural kinds of fodder grow spontaneously after the corn. The most pleasant to the cattle, of these, is the alfilerilla, so called from the shape of its seed: it is the musk geraneum, indigenous in England, as well as here; and is said to communicate a pleasant flavour to the flesh of the animals who feed on it at certain seasons. Another favourite plant of the cattle is the cardoon, or large eatable

thistle; and it is in season at the end of the dry weather, when it is doubly valuable. I like the thistle heads so well myself, either as salad or stewed, that I am not surprised at the complaints I have heard that the cattle break down hedges to seek them. In the country here, the flies that surround the cow-litter are caught and preserved for their fragrance.

In the evening, a certain Don Lucas, who happened to be on a visit at Don Justo's, played the guitar, and sung several Guaso songs, and danced several dances of the country, especially one called the Campana, which I had never seen, with spirit and glee. Folding the edges of his poncho over his shoulders, he seized his guitar; then leading out one of the ladies, he danced, ogled, played, and sung all at once, in most grotesque style. The campana, indeed, is a *pas seul*, and the words of the song about as significant as "Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle." However they served to excuse the grimaces of Don Lucas, whose face is as grotesque as Grimaldi's, to which it bears some resemblance.

The words of "La Campana" are as follow:

"Al mar mi avojasa por una rosa,
Pero le temo al agua che e peligrosa,
Repiquen las campanas con el esquilon,
Che si no hai barajo con el corazon,
Pescado salado desecho ya un lado,
Repiquen las campanas de la catedral.
Por ver se te veo hermosa deidad,
Un clavel que me distes por la ventana,
En una jara de oro lo tengo in agua,
Repiquen las campanas de la catedral."

I believe this song, like *Yankee Doodle*, is capable of being lengthened *ad infinitum* by the singer.

After the dancing was over Don Lucas seated himself in the corner of the room on a low ottoman, and once more tuned his guitar to accompany his voice in some ballads and tristes, which owed more to the words and manner than to the voice; one of them, though abounding with conceits, struck me as being very pretty: —

" *Triste.*

" Llorad corazon llorad,
Llorad si tienes porque,
Que no es delito in un hombre,
Llorar por una Muger.

" Llora este cielo sereno,
Marchitando sus colores,
La tierra Llora en vapores,
L'agua que abriga en su seno,
Llora el aroyo, mas lleno,
Se espera esterilidad,
Y las flores con lealdad,
Le lloren de varios modos,
Pues Ahora que lloren todos.
Llorad corazon llorad."

" Llora el prado a quien destine,
El cielo una esteril suerte,
El arbol mas duro vierte,
Sus lagrimas en racine.
Llora pues se se examina,
Todo insensible que ve,
Una mal pagada fe,
Y si lo insensible llora,
Llorad corazon ahora.
Llorad que tienes porque.

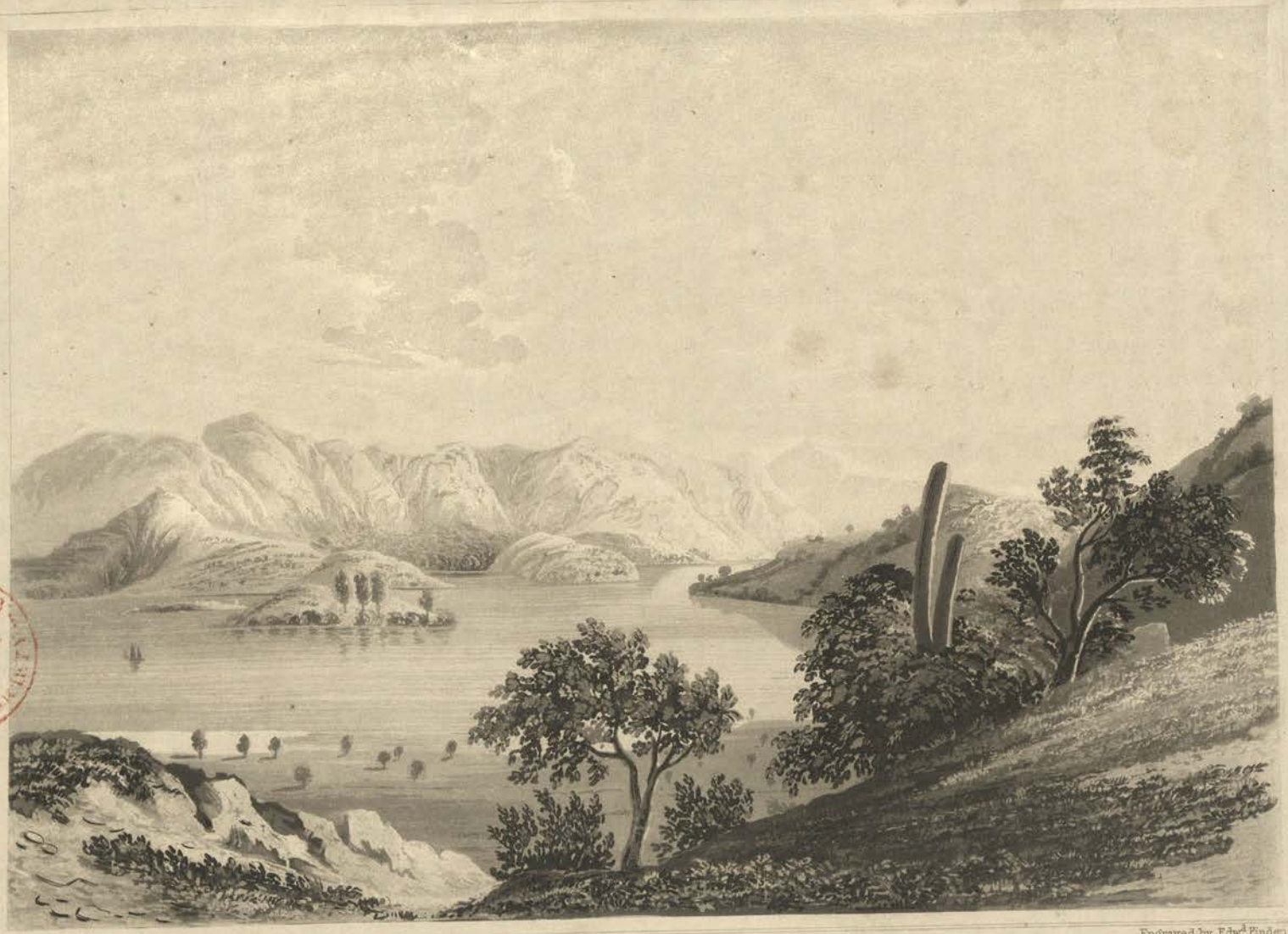
" Llora l'ave su huerfandad,
Mirando a su dueño ausente,
El jirguerillo inocente,
Llora su cautividad.
El pesco llora limpidad,
D'el que le prende, y el hombre,
Llore porque, mas tu asombres,
Pues en estremo tan raro,
No es culpo en ellos es claro.
Que no es delito in un hombre.

" Llora el bruto y no es dudable,
Que llora pues es pasible,
Quando sente lo insensible,
Y llora aun lo vegetable,
Llora todo lo animable,
Porque puede padecer,
Y se el hombre ha de tener,
Sentido mas exquisito,
Como sera en el delito.
Llorar por una Muger."

Don Justo has the best memory for verses of any person I know, and repeated more songs than I can remember, or than Don Lucas could sing. It is one of the necessary accomplishments of a young Chileno cavalier; so he who cannot sing his song in their country parties may at least tell his story.

Not very long ago Don Justo was dangerously ill at his father-in-law's house at Santiago; and of course there were vows made for him by all the family, and especially his sisters-in-law, with whom he is a great favourite. On the day he was pronounced out of danger, Jose Antonio and the girls all assembled under his window, and the guitar being tuned to an air of Mariquita's composition, she first sang her congratulations, and then followed each of her sisters with a verse, and a chorus of the four in the name of the rest of the household, all of Mariquita's composition. Their tenderness overcame the sick man, and he burst into tears; when Jose Antonio with readiness quickened the measure, and parodied the lines in his own person so gracefully that the tears dried, and from that time Salinas began to recover rapidly. The fashion and talent of occasional versification of course the Spaniards brought with them from Old Spain. Who does not remember the beautiful stanza sung in praise of Preçiosa by Clement and Andrew, in Cervante's beautiful tale of La Gitanilla? We were all astonished at the lateness of the hour when we separated; but verse and song, and Ana Maria's beautiful countenance and sweet voice, were excuse enough, if excuse we needed.

11*th of September.* — Descriptions are very often totally untrue; whence is this? One should think nothing could be so simple as to describe that which we have seen with attention. However not one person in a hundred succeeds in giving to another a true idea of what he has seen. I had a proof of this to-day. We went to see the lake of Aculeo: I had heard it described as round, and deep in hills, and still as Nemi; and, to increase the wonder, that it was salt as the sea. None of all this is true: it is irregular and winding, with sunny islands in it; some steep mountains overhang it, but the margin oftener slopes gently, and affords pasturage to numerous



Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edwd. Finden.

LAGUNA DE ACULEO.

cattle, and its little valley opens to the eastward, on which side it sends forth its stream to swell the river of the Angostura. The road from Don Justo's to Aculeo is beautiful, through woods and fertile plains, surrounded by mountains watered by numerous streams, and enlivened by several good country-houses; round each of which a village of peons is generally collected, like the large English farm homesteads.

The scenery of the lake reminded me of that around the Lago Maggiore; the snowy Andes, rich banks, and bright islands, even the very climate, seemed those of Northern Italy. We stopped a moment at a small house on the side of the lake where there is usually a boat to be had, but she was under repair. The estate belongs to one of the La Raynas, and the fish from the lake forms a considerable portion of the income from it.

Doña Ana Maria, Doña Rosaria, and Jose Antonio, chose to remain at the cottage. Mr. de Roos and myself, attended by the two peons, rode two leagues farther up the right bank of the lake, having first tasted the water, which we found to be perfectly sweet and fresh. I had never seen such forest scenery out of Europe as we passed through on our ride; and then there was the peculiar fragrance of the Chile woods, sometimes from the boughs of the aroma, now in blossom, sometimes from the crushed leaves over which we trod. But this lovely scene is quite solitary; one small fishing house, on an island, alone tells that man has any part in it. But the eagle soars over it, and the swan, and all the meaner tribe of aquatic fowls, brood on it. Consideration for our horses induced us to return, after making one sketch, to our friends at the cottage, where we found dinner awaiting us; and then every body went to sleep, — even I did so for a few minutes. On the estrada lay the ladies; the gentlemen, on the saddlecloths and ponchos, slept the hot hour under the shadow of a tree; and the owners of the cottage each in her separate bed: one of these is a woman of about fifty-five, who is the best horse-breaker in the country, and many an untractable colt is brought to her to tame. At three o'clock every body was roused to take matee, and

about four o'clock we rode homewards, the distance being four long leagues. The tints on the mountains were beautiful to-night, — from almost black purple to the purest rose-colour; and there were some sudden and deep sounds from the eastward, that might have been the falls of avalanches, or the voice of some of the half-extinguished volcanoes in the neighbourhood.

Don Justo met us about a mile and a half from the house, and on our arrival at the door we found two strange cavaliers. One was E——, whose gay cheerful spirit makes him welcome every where. He introduced to us a man, dressed in the coarsest decent dress of the country, by the title of Juan de Bonaventura; a farmer on his own estate, and a good man, though unfortunately a *tonto*, *i. e.* a half-witted clown. When we entered the house, and I saw the tonto by the full light, I thought that nature does indeed sometimes play the huswife, in bestowing such a form and such features on one without a mind. However, we assembled and took tea, after having changed our riding dresses; and Mr. de Roos, Doña Rosario, and Don Lucas, formed one group on the ottoman in the corner, where Don Lucas's guitar and songs made them very merry. Don Jose Antonio and Don Justo were not with us, Don Justo not being well. Doña Ana Maria and I, therefore, sat at the table, where she had her work and I my drawing, with E—— and the tonto. We talked of all manner of things, and now and then, from civility, I appealed to the handsome fool, whose answers were more like Shakspeare's Touchstone than those of any fool I have met: and still I wondered at such a gracious outside, where "every god had seemed to set his seal," coupled with so weak a mind. It made me quite melancholy, and I was glad to go to supper; where Don Lucas's buffooneries furnished a natural laugh, while those forced by the tonto are melancholy; and I went to bed actually sad.

12*th*. — On rising to-day, I found that Don Lucas had set off, in the fog and rain, for the city, without taking leave of us; so adieu to our dancing. I employed the morning in writing up my journal, going into the dairy, and making enquiries concerning the tonto,

about whom I could receive no satisfaction. At twelve o'clock the mist cleared away; and in the afternoon Don Justo, Doña Ana Maria, Rosario, Mr. de Roos, and I, rode to a hill in the neighbourhood to see a lovely view over the plain of Maypu, and to take our matee and chat till sunset. I may repeat, a thousand times over, 'tis the loveliest day I have seen; for, in the fresh untouched scenes of nature, each succeeding one *is* lovelier than the last. The star-like flower beneath my feet, the magnificent purple shrub that bent over the cliff hundreds of feet above the nearest resting-place, and where Salinas clung like a wild roe as he grasped the splendid plant; the pinnacle on which the skins were spread, where Ana Maria and Rosario,—two creatures more lovely than the flowers about them, — reclined while the matee was brought in silver cups;—all, all were beautiful; and we talked till many a story of living people was told, that romancers would be glad to possess. Doña Ana Maria's first husband was, as I knew long before, Juan Jose Carrera. * After his death, her brother Jose Antonio crossed the Andes to Mendoza, and brought her home to her family, where she lived for a time in utter seclusion. At nineteen years she had seen her husband at the head of the government of his country, or, at least, only second to his brother; she had twice followed him across the Andes as a fugitive; she had shared his prison; she had begged for him; she had seen him expire, locked in his youngest brother's arms, on the scaffold;—what wonder that she was dear to the surviving Carrera! What wonder that he wrote to her in that confidential cipher which had nearly cost her her life! Some of his letters were intercepted; and she was imprisoned in the convent of the Augustine nuns in Santiago. But I will write down this part of her history, as nearly as I can, in the words of her mother, addressed to me some days ago:—"On Ana Maria's return "from Mendoza we found her health so impaired by her sufferings, "that we hurried her into the country, whither poor Miguel and I "accompanied her. I was speedily recalled to town on Mariquita's

* See Introduction, p. 24.; and Mr. Yates's paper in the Appendix.

" account, who had a very dangerous fever. On the very day of the " crisis of her illness, an officer from the senate arrived, demanding " our eldest daughter. My husband went to the Director, represent- " ing the wretched state of the family, and especially the delicate " state of my Ana Maria. But he was told that it was an affair of " state, and she must appear; so I left Mariquita with her sisters, " and set off with the officer to fetch my daughter.

" We brought her to town; she was taken before the senate, and " there the letter written by Jose Miguel was shown her *, and she " was desired to read it. She answered, that she did not know the " cipher, and therefore could not. One of the court reminded her, " that she had often used a cipher in her letters to her husband while " he was imprisoned at Mendoza. She who, till then, had not heard " her husband's name without convulsions, now seemed inspired with " courage from above. 'Yes,' she said, 'we did occasionally write a " line in cipher. Could we expose our intimate concerns to the " strangers who, we knew, read our letters ere they reached us? Or " could we bear the coarse laugh of the guard-room, where they were " read, at the effusions of our tenderness? But when ye took from " me the letters and papers of my martyred husband, ye took from " me also the key of that cipher, and I know no other.' One of the " senators, looking sternly at the beautiful girl, said, — 'Does Doña " Ana Maria choose to have the words *martyred husband* inserted into " the minutes of her examination?' She answered, 'I have said, and " I do say, *martyred husband.*' The examiners then told her, that " unless she read the letters in question to the council there assembled, " she should be shut up in a convent. Her reply still was — 'I cannot, " I know not the cipher. And if the letter were addressed to me, of " which you have no proof, does another person's act in addressing " me make me a criminal? There are, alas! other women, and other " widows of my name and family, to whom it might well have been

* This letter was really written to her, and treated not of schemes and purposes, so much as hopes, for the subversion of the actual government. It was highly imprudent — perhaps worse.

" directed. Besides, if it be criminal to correspond, have you proof " that I have written, or replied to, or any way acknowledged, the " letters of Don Jose Miguel? Or is it wonderful, that in the " desolation of his house, he should write to and condole with his " martyred brother's wife?' She was that day questioned no farther, " but sent to the Augustine nuns, whence she was twice led to be re- " examined; but she never varied her answers. After this, her health " becoming daily more delicate, her mother and youngest sister were " allowed to attend her in the convent, which they did for five " months."—After which the Director himself caused her to be liberated, I believe at the instance of Mr. Prevost. Some persons consider her as really implicated in a state intrigue. Her family look on her as a suffering angel.

While she was confined in the convent, she became intimate with a most interesting young person, whose misfortunes, of a different cast from her own, had induced her to retire thither for life. Her husband had been won over from the patriot to the royal cause, at an age when principles can rarely be fixed; — he had been faithful to it. He was taken in battle, and imprisoned rather as a deserter than an honourable enemy. She, being at that time at Talcahuana, and near her first lying-in, resolved to join her husband; and so set out with one faithful female servant, on foot, and with so little money, as to be dependant for the greater part of the road, 500 miles, upon the hospitality of her countrymen; to whom her name, indeed, was not indifferent. She reached Santiago; — a relation received her kindly. She bore her infant, sending daily to the prison to know how her husband was, and had always an answer of comfort. One morning she heard a volley, and then another, of small arms—she was seized with a shivering: she enquired after her husband; she was told, " He is out of prison, and will never be molested more." She asked no farther, but rose from her bed as soon as she was able, and retired to the Augustines. She was right, — he was shot that morning: his child had died. In her solitude she was sometimes visited by her friends, and her brother Justo Salinas was among the number.

Sometimes he saw with her Ana Maria, the widow of Carrera. The young naturally feel for the young. He heard her story,—as who in Chile did not?—and told it to his mother, an aged lady, who lived in the country, at the house we are now staying at.

When Doña Ana Maria was released from her honourable prison in the Augustines, she found her brother Don Miguel labouring under a severe infirmity; and as she was banished from Santiago, and ordered to live at the country-house she had inherited from her husband, she proposed that he should accompany her thither for the benefit of bathing in running water; which, I observe, is considered here as a specific for many complaints. Ana Maria's tender attention to this brother attracted the observation of her neighbours, more especially of the lady of Salinas, who insisted on her removing to her house, where the waters were purer and the stream stronger. She accordingly accompanied Don Miguel to Salinas. Don Justo arrived some time after:—need I say she was invited to make Salinas hers? I am not sure that all this was talked or told to-night; but this discourse made out some parts of a story which I longed to know more completely, and which, even now, wants some links of the chain.

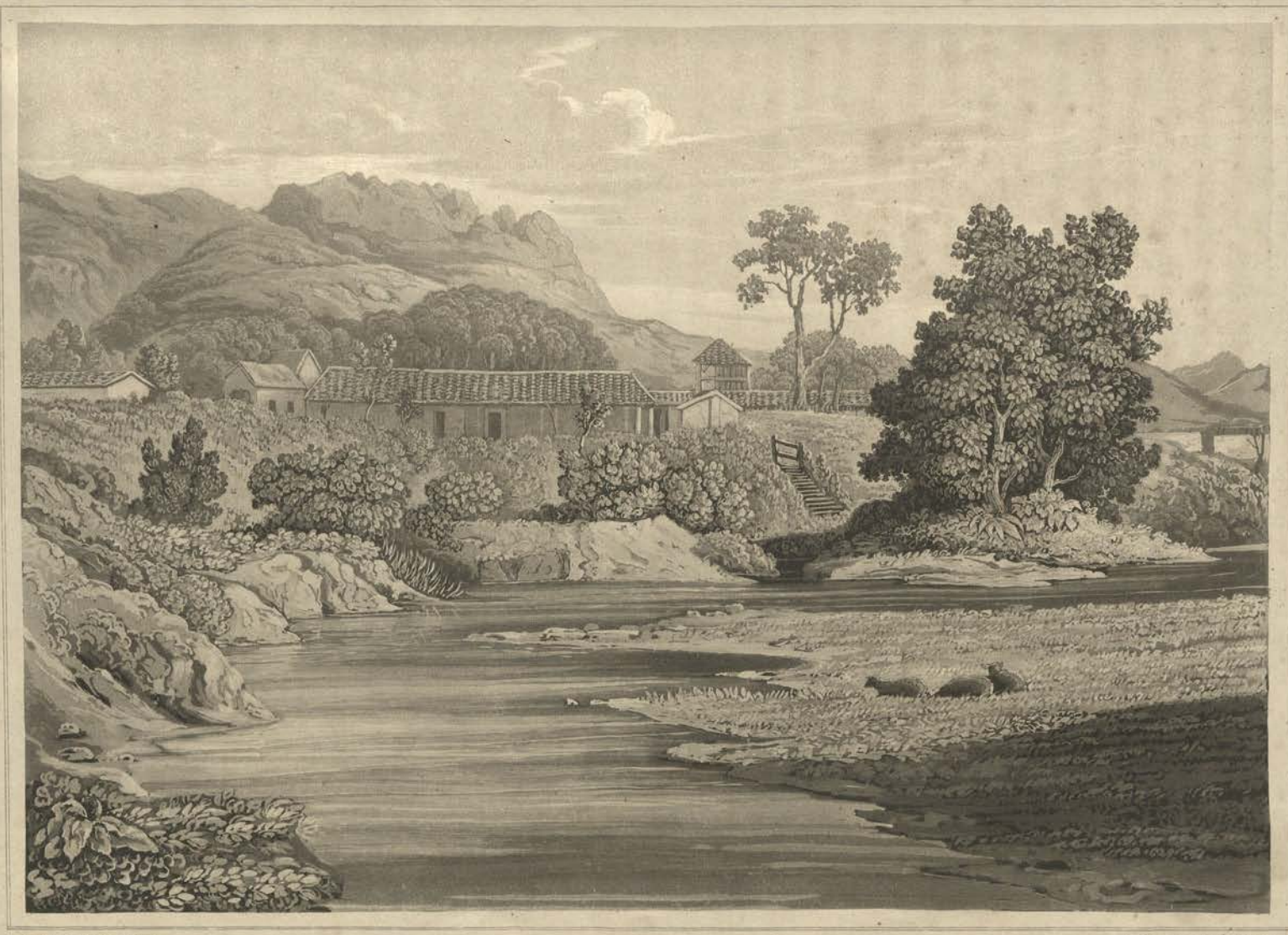
The sun at last summoned us to leave our mountain station; and we descended by a winding rocky path and through a wood, where the branches often threatened to impede our progress. On such occasions Salinas, who, like every Chileno, travels with his forest knife, drew it, and quickly cut the overhanging boughs; and we reached home just as E—— with his tonto again made his appearance at the door. The parties in the evening were much as last night; E—— and Jose Antonio occasionally taking Don Lucas's place, with Doña Rosario, and Mr. de Roos. There was something in the tonto's appearance to-night that led me to notice him more particularly than before; and I purposely led the conversation to points connected with farming, with the state of the roads in the country, and the practicability of going to Conception alone in a few weeks; and at length the answers became more and more rational, till I was half convinced that the tonto was an assumed character: when E—— came

up, and said something aloud, calling him by name, and the answer was so completely that of an idiot, that I turned to E—— to avoid more discourse with the unhappy creature. I spoke of Santiago and the Director, which I have not done here on account of Doña Ana Maria; and of the 18th of September, the approaching anniversary of the independence of the country; and asking him if he, as captain of militia, would not be on parade with the lancers, again I saw the tonto's eyes fixed on me, with an intelligence and an expression that interested me anew, and I thought that perhaps his state of mind was owing to some misfortune sprung out of the civil war; so I talked on, and mentioned more especially the Director's promise of backing any request to be made to the Assembly for a general amnesty for all persons held criminal for political opinions, and recal to all exiles. There was something in the faces of all that induced me to repeat this distinctly again; and then I went on with the drawing I was about, and E—— went away: I then heard the tonto speak about me in a whisper to Doña Ana Maria, who answered him in the same tone, and then she spoke to me; and the conversation led me to say to the tonto, "And why should not you, who live in the country and have your farm, be happy as any of us?" He answered quickly; and this time his voice and language corresponded with the dignity of his figure and his fine features — "*I* happy with farms, and peons, and cattle! — No! for years I was wretched, and the first moment of happiness I owe to you."— "Indeed!" said I. "Then you are not what you seem?"— He started up and stretched himself to his full height, and his eye flashed fire.— "No,— I will no longer play this fool's part; it is unworthy the son of Xabiera, the nephew of Jose Miguel Carrera. I am that unhappy exile Lastra, reduced to fly from desert to desert, to hide me in caves, and to feed with the fowls of the air, till my limbs are palsied and my youth is wasted; and my crime has been to love Chile too well. Oh, my country! what would I not suffer for thee!" I had been immoveable during this burst of feeling: but now I rose astonished, as I believe all present were; not indeed at the disclosure, — for only de Roos besides myself had any thing to

learn,— but at Lastra's making it. However, I went up to him and gave him my hand, and desired he would come to see me in Santiago, like himself, after the 18th. This restored us to our ordinary state of cheerfulness, and the rest of the evening was occupied in giving and receiving details concerning the wanderer's life. He had been taken in arms for Carrera, and imprisoned — and the prison in Chile is cruel. He had escaped, and was consequently outlawed. For years he has lived in the desert; now and then entering the town in the disguise of a common peon, to hear of his friends, or to obtain some assistance from them; sometimes living in villages where he was unknown; and then hastily escaping those who had discovered his retreat, and sought to betray him; and occasionally, as now, venturing from hiding-places in the woods at nightfall to sup with his friends, but retiring without sleeping. At one time he had been so long exposed to the damp in the rainy season, that he was laid up with rheumatism for two months in a cave; and had it not been for the fidelity of a little boy who brought him food daily, he must have perished: and this was the exile's life. And thus years have passed of the life of one of the best educated, most accomplished young men in Chile! When we separated for the night, I felt sorry that we were to leave the hacienda of Salinas in the morning, without at this time knowing more of the tonto.*

September 11th. — We left the hacienda of Salinas in a thick drizzling fog to ride to Melipilla, one of the chief towns of Chile, about twenty leagues from l'Angostura de Paine. We crossed the river at a beautiful spot, where the branch from the pass receives another equal in depth and clearness, and which I imagine to be the Paine itself. They meet in a little grassy plain, where there are some very fine timber trees scattered irregularly, and bounded to the north by the fences of the magnificent corn-fields of Viluco. The fog shut out all the mountains, and whatever is peculiar in the landscape of Chile;

* Before I left Chile, I had the pleasure of shaking hands with him, — restored to his family and friends.



Drawn by Maria Graham

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

FARM AT SALINUS.

so that the scene reminded me of some of those quiet rich views we have in the heart of England, — a few sheep grazing on the green banks, and cattle spotted like our Lancashire cows, added to the likeness. Coming suddenly to such a place gives one a feeling not unlike that of the sailors who found the broken spoon, marked "London," in Kamschatka: I could scarcely persuade myself that I had not been often and familiarly at the place before.

Four leagues from the farm of Salinas lies the house of Viluca, which is one of the most remarkable in the country: it belongs to the Marques la Rayna, and is a princely establishment, kept in excellent order. The chaplain presides in the house, and there is always an establishment of servants; so that travellers are always welcomed, whether the master be there or not. There are a certain number of rooms appointed for their accommodation, and a table is kept for them; so that, known or unknown, the stranger is at home at Viluca. The house is good and substantial, and well furnished, though plainly for the country: the garden is a jewel in its kind; the walks and alleys are paved in mosaic; the parterres laid out in every fantastic shape, and each has its little run of water round it; the centre of each has also its pyramid, or urn, or basket, nicely clipped, of rosemary just in blossom; and all around wall-flowers, pinks, ranunculuses, and anemones: over-head, the orange, lime, lemon, and pomegranate, form a shade; and along by the house, birds of all kinds have their appropriate cages, with living plants within. This garden opens to a wide alley of trellis-work, over which vines are led as a shade; and on either hand are orchards of fruit trees and vineyards. From the gardens we went to see the granaries, the slaughter-houses, and the drying lofts for hides and charqui; which are all upon a grander scale, and more carefully kept, than any thing I have seen as yet. The cattle on this estate is computed at 9000 head; last year 2000 were killed, and the hides sold in one lot to an English merchant at twenty-two reals a piece. Some complaint is made that, since the beginning of the civil war, the number of cattle in Chile is greatly decreased, and the blame is laid on the war. The evil, so far as it is an evil,

may perhaps be justly charged on the war; but the waste in the management of the dairy and butchery is still such, that I think the number might bear a much further diminution without producing any distress, — nay, that the country would be benefited by it. In Padre Ovalle's time, nothing but the tongues and ribs of their oxen were used; the rest was thrown into the sea on the coasts, or on the bone-heap in-land for the vultures. Even now the heads in some places, in all the bones, when the main part of the flesh is cut off, are thrown out, excepting where there are foreigners to make soup; the hearts and livers are also thrown away; so that nearly a quarter of the food which an ox would furnish in Europe is lost here, not to mention that the horns, hoofs, and bones are utterly wasted. But the war is not the only cause of the diminution of the number of the cattle; — a great deal more land is now brought into cultivation for corn; the people eat more bread; they have a large demand for the provisioning the foreign ships and fleets in the Pacific, and they export more grain; consequently more land is enclosed, and those who formerly derived their whole income from cattle have discovered that it is more profitable to grow a certain proportion of corn.

We had scarcely left Viluca when the day began to clear. I never beheld any thing finer than the gradual opening of the clouds, now rolling far below the summits of the mountains and seeming to fill up their valleys, and now curling over their tops and dispersing in the air. At a short distance from the house of Viluca we came to a ford of the Maypu, much more difficult than that we passed before. The gravelly bed of the river here spreads at the foot of a mountain nearly a mile, but the stream itself occupies but a small portion. We crossed six great branches; four of which took the horses to the girths, and one was so rapid that some of the animals were frightened, and began to give way; but the example of the rest encouraged them, and we crossed happily. Above and below the ford, where the stream is all in one, it is impossible to attempt crossing: a guide is quite necessary in travelling in Chile on account of the rivers,

which are very rapid, and whose fords are perpetually changing. About five leagues beyond the ford, we came to the beautiful village of Longuien, where the road lies between a mountain and two little knolls that project from it; the place is very populous, and seems thriving. The hills on both sides abound with projecting rocks, whose heads form platforms, each occupied by its cottage and garden; all the fences and ditches are in excellent order, and we even found well-hung gates. Through one of these we passed, and ascended the highest of the two knolls above mentioned, on the very summit of which is the house of Tagle, the first president of the convention: it is a mere country lodge, with some pretensions to taste; but it is chiefly delightful for its view, extending all over the rich valley through which the Maypu flows. On one hand lies the high ridge of the mountains of St. Michael; on the other, that of which Chocolan — stupendous, if the Andes were not in sight — is the highest peak. There is little corn in this part of the country, but that little is fine; and the vines and olives are few. The chief produce between this place and Melipilla being butter, cheese, hides, tallow, and charqui; the banks of the Maypu are entirely occupied by pasture lands. We sat nearly an hour at Longuien to rest our horses, and to eat a luncheon we had brought with us. While we were thus occupied, we saw in the fields below the whole business of the rodeo going on in a corral just beneath the house; the separating and marking the cattle, and taking up the calves from the mothers.

From Longuien to the town of San Francisco de Monte the road lies through a thicket of the espina or yellow scented mimosa, which affords not only the best fuel in the country, but shelter for the cattle, without injuring the quality of the grass beneath. Near San Francisco we crossed the Mapocho, after its re-appearance from the hills of St. Michael's, on its way to join the Maypu; it really is a beautiful stream, and I do not wonder at the favour with which it is regarded on account of the sweetness, clearness, and lightness of its waters. A number of asequias or leads are taken from it here for

mills, for irrigation, and for drinking. About a league from San Francisco we passed the Indian village of Talagante, distinguished by its three beautiful palm trees, the first I had seen for a long time. It was one of the early settlements formed by the Franciscans, but was transferred to the management of the Jesuits, on whose fall the spiritual affairs of the Cacique and his people reverted to the Franciscans, and the temporal matters to the captain of the district. The most remarkable building on entering San Francisco is the house, formerly that of the Jesuits, now belonging to the Carreras, whose chief property lay in this district. We did not stop, though I was inclined to do so, in this pretty little town, as the day was far spent, and we had still several leagues to ride. The populous suburbs of San Francisco reached a long way, and the country improved in richness as we advanced. At Payco, about two leagues from Melipilla, there are some of the finest dairies in the country; and there I observed some remarkably fine forest trees by a little stream that, flowing across the road, enters an almost impervious thicket of molle, the sweet scent of which filled the evening air. We had now ridden fifty-four miles, and our horses as well as ourselves began to be a little eager to get to the end of our journey: the evening began to close, and a thick drizzling rain made our entrance to Melipilla as disagreeable as might be; and to mend the matter, the person on whom I had depended for lodging was absent. Cold, and hungry, and tired, we then had to seek a shelter. That was soon found; but the house was large, and cold, and empty. However the neighbours seemed willing to lend what accommodation they had; and, by the time Doña Rosario and I had made a seat of our travelling cloaks, we had a panful of coals, and hopes of a supper. Meantime, however, Don Jose Antonio had enquired out a more comfortable house, where we found fire ready, and were charmed by the appearance of an estrada, covered by a comfortable alfombra; on which we gladly sat, at the invitation of a pleasant-looking woman, and took matee while supper was preparing. The mistress apologised for the supper on the score

of the shortness of the time allowed for preparation, but our hunger would have relished a much worse; there was excellent roast beef, a stewed fowl, good bread, and a bottle of very tolerable wine. The beds appeared to embarrass Mr. de Roos more than any thing: but I am an old traveller, and our Chileno friends are used to the sort of thing; so my young Englishman made up his mind to our all passing the night within the same four walls. An excellent matrass, with all proper additions, was laid on one end of the estrada for Doña Rosario and me; and across the foot of our couch the skins and carpets of the saddles furnished forth Mr. de Roos, while another of the same kind served Don Antonio. I thought of the "Sentimental Journey," and placed a parcel of high-backed chairs, and spread the long skirt of my riding-habit between Rosario and me and our companions, — a work of supererogation, if all slept as soundly as I did, which I presume they did, because when I rose at day-break I found them all still; so I crept into a little closet, where potatoes and wool had been kept, and where I had contrived a dressing-room; so that I was ready to receive two strangers, who walked into the room before any of the rest were stirring, and seating themselves without ceremony, began to question us about ourselves and our journey. I soon found that one of these was an Englishman, who had belonged to a whaler which foundered off Juan Fernandez. He is now at the head of a large soap and candle manufactory here, belonging to a gentleman of Chile. This is a favourable situation for such a business, both on account of the tallow, and of the facility of procuring ashes and charcoal: by-the-bye, I saw them making charcoal near Longuien. The pieces of wood are cut about two feet long, then laid in a trench covered with earth, and so burned. I suppose this to be a wasteful process. Were not the discouragement of all coasting trade so great here, Melipilla might be immensely rich: it is only ten leagues from the mouth of the Maypu, where there is the safe little harbour of Saint Augustin; where the cheese, butter, charqui, hides, tallow, soap, and earthenware might be shipped for every port of Chile.

But as it is, all these articles find their way by the expensive and circuitous in-land roads of Santiago, Casa Blanca, and Valparaiso. It is to be regretted, that the old Spanish principles still regulate all these things, to the great injury of foreign commerce and the utter destruction of internal traffic.

I fancy the Melipillans had never seen an Englishwoman before, the court of our house being absolutely crowded with men, women, and children; among whom I found that my close cap and black dress made me pass for a nun of some foreign order. I went out and spoke to them, and explained who I was, and we were soon relieved from all but those who insisted on staying to admire the *rubio*, (fair man,) as they called Mr. de Roos, whose golden locks and bright complexion are objects of universal admiration here. The fore-court of our lodging is surrounded by workmen's sheds of different descriptions; so that when the family requires a job done, the workman and his tools are hired for the day or the week, and he finds his workshop fitted up. The back-court is open to a very good garden, and there the kitchen and other out-houses are situated. After breakfast we went out to see the town, which is built on the same plan as Santiago; that is, all the streets perfectly straight at right angles. Nearly in the centre is the Iglesia Matriz, on one side of a considerable square; another side is occupied by the house of the governor Don T. Valdez, and the barracks adjoining. The government house, like every other in the town, has a dull air; because towards the squares and streets, there is only a dead wall with a large gate, the house being within a court. And Melipilla is peculiarly sombre; because, excepting the public buildings, which are white-washed, they are all of the natural colour of the clay of which the unburnt building-bricks are formed. Melipilla has still its annual bull-fights, which are held in the great square; but it has no other place of public amusement, not even a public walk. The church of St. Austin and that of the Merced are the only ones besides the great church; but there are a few private chapels belonging to the

principal houses in the town. Besides the manufactures of soap and earthenware, a great many of the finer kinds of ponchos and alfombras are wove; as the wool in the neighbourhood is very fine, and the plain abounds with drugs for dying. The weaving is managed with great skill, but the loom is the most clumsy I ever beheld; and most of the work is done without a shuttle at all.

In the evening we went to the chacra of Don Jose Funsalida, to see the pits whence the fine red clay used in the famous pottery of Melipilla is taken. Overlooking the plain eastward from the town, there is a long high perfectly flat bank of great extent; and there, under a layer about two feet thick of black vegetable mould, lies the red clay, almost as hard as stone. Of this the fine red water-jars, and the finest vessels for wine, as well as jars for cooking and many other uses, are made. The plain beyond the clay bank is covered with large ovens for baking the wine-jars, and alembics for distilling; not that there is any large manufactory for them, but every peasant here makes jars, and the richest and most skilful of course has most trade; and, of all the ovens we saw, not more than three belonged to any one man.

There is no difference between the method of pottery practised here and that at Valparaiso in making the coarsest ware, excepting that I think more pains is taken in kneading the clay. I went to one of the most famous female potters, and found her and her granddaughter busy polishing their work of the day before with a beautiful agate. There I saw the black clay of which they make small wares, such as matee-cups, waiters, and water-jars, often wrought with grotesque heads and arms, and sometimes ornamented with the white and red earths with which the country abounds. The large wine-jars and alembics are made by men, as the work is laborious; especially as no wheel is used, or indeed known, in the country. The small ware is still often baked in holes in the earth, the large vessels in ovens; where indeed they are often made, the workmen forming the jars where they are to be baked.

The furnace is built a little under-ground, yet so as to admit a free current of air; the flooring is about eight feet square, and the whole 18 feet high. These are of picturesque forms, and, scattered over the plain, gave me the idea of antique tombs: on one hand the river was flowing majestically past the town, and beyond it Chocolan, with light evening clouds hanging round its sides, and woods burning in different places near the summit; to the east the Andes, at about the same distance that Mont Blanc is from Geneva, are seen at the end of a long valley, whose boundary mountains sink into nothing before the "Giant of the Western Star."

Shortly after we returned from our walk, some young women neatly dressed, with their long hair braided hanging down their backs, and natural flowers placed in it, came and seated themselves under the window and played on their guitars, singing at the same time some verses welcoming us to Melipilla. We then invited them to enter, and they sat with us till a late hour, singing ballads and tristes, and dancing various dances; the newest and most fashionable being the *Patria*, with suitable words not ill adapted to the times.

15th September. — This morning Doña Rosario and her brother went to early Mass, while Mr. de Roos and I prepared all things for beginning our journey back to Santiago. So we left Melipilla quite

Drawn by Augs Earle.

Engraved by Edwd Finden

COSTUME OF CHILI.

satisfied, that, in its present state, there is little interesting in it; and also, that it might be one of the most flourishing cities of South America. Its potteries, already considerable, might be rendered infinitely more profitable; its manufactures of ponchos and carpets infinitely increased, because its wool and its dyes are excellent and inexhaustible. Hemp, of the very finest quality, abounds in the flat lands near it. Its dairies are the best in this part of Chile; and its charqui, hides, and all other produce depending on its cattle, might be, more easily as well as advantageously, disposed of from its port of St. Austin's, only thirty miles off; to which every thing might go by water, though the rapidity of the stream would prevent boats from re-ascending the Maypu. Melipilla might derive another advantage, which is not mean in Chile, from the existence of the medicinal wells in its neighbourhood, at the spot where the Poangui falls into the Maypu. People crowd thither in the bathing season to be very uncomfortable in huts at the spot, while it would be very easy for the town of Melipilla to keep comfortable and well-supplied houses and baths for their accommodation. I have been told, that the waters of the Poangui are warm in the morning and cold at night. This is so contrary to experience and reason, that, as I have not tried them myself, I suspect that there is as great a mistake as in the case of the saltness of the lake of Aculeo. We had no intention this day of going farther than San Francisco de Monte, where there is a tolerable house for travellers, kept by an old servant of a relation of the Cotapos. As soon as we arrived there, the gentlemen rode off to visit a relation of our companions, while Doña Rosario and I remained to perform rather a more careful toilette than we had been able to do at Melipilla. The house we were in is, in all senses, a pulperia, combining the characters of a huckster's shop and an alehouse. The host has some Indian and some African blood in his veins, and is a shrewd ingenious man. He has set up a proper loom for weaving ponchos, by which means he produces more work in a week than the weavers of Melipilla in a month. His wife spins and dyes the wool; and by this trade, and the profits of their shop, they earn a very decent live-

lihood. As soon as I had changed my dress I went out to walk round the little town, which I found laid out with great neatness; and admired the gardens and fields, though I could perceive that San Francisco had once boasted inhabitants of a higher class than those I saw. The best houses are shut up, and there was an air of decay in their immediate neighbourhood. They did belong to the Carreras. The heiress, Doña Xaviera, is now living as an exile at Monte Video. I went towards the Plaça, where there are the church and convent of the Franciscans, and several extremely good houses. I was attracted by a great crowd at the door of one of these. The mounted guasos were standing by with their hats off, and every body seemed as if performing an act of devotion. I was a little astonished when I arrived at the centre of the crowd, to which every body made way for me, to find nine persons dancing, as the Spaniards say, *con mucho compas.* They were arranged like nine-pins, the centre one being a young boy dressed in a grotesque manner, who only changed his place occasionally with two others, one of whom had a guitar, the other a ravel. The height and size of limb of the dancers might have belonged to men, the apparel was female; and I thought I had been suddenly introduced to a tribe of Patagonian women, and enquired of a by-stander whence they came, when I received the following information concerning the dancers and the dance. — When the Franciscans first began the conversion of the Indians in this part of Chile, they fixed their convent at Talagante, the village of the palms which we passed through the other day, their proselytes being the caciques of Talagante, Yupeo, and Chenigué. The good fathers found that the Indians were more easily brought over to a new faith, than weaned from certain superstitious practices belonging to their old idolatry; and the annual dance under the shade of the cinnamon, in honour of a preserving Power, they found it impossible to make them forget. They therefore permitted them to continue it; but it was to be performed within the convent walls, and in honour of Nuestra Senhora de la Merced, and each cacique in turn was to take upon him the expense of the feast. On the removal of the convent to its present station the dance was

allowed in the church; and the dancers, instead of painted bodies, and heads crowned with feathers, and bound with the fillet,—still thought holy,—are now clothed completely in women's dresses, as fine as they can procure: and as the priests have much abridged the period of the solemnity, they are fain to finish their dance in the area before the church, where they are attended with as much deference as in the temple itself. After having performed this duty, the dancers, and as many as choose to accompany them, repair to the Cacique's house, where they are treated with all the food he can command, and drink till his stock of chicha is exhausted. I considered myself very fortunate in having met with these dancers, and pleased myself with the idea that they were the descendants of the Promaucians, who had resisted the Incas in their endeavours to subdue the country, and who, after bravely disputing its possession with the Spaniards, being once induced to make a league with them never deserted them.

I was lucky too in the person to whom I applied for information. He is a deformed, but sprightly-looking man, who acts the double part of schoolmaster and *gracioso* of the village. While we sat at dinner to-day he entered to pay his compliments, and began a long extempore compliment to each of us in verse, in a manner at least as good as that of the common *improvisatori* of Italy. For this I paid him with a cup of wine; when he began to recite a collection of legendary and other verses, till, heated I presume by the glasses handed to him by our young men, his tales began to stray so far from decorum that we silenced the old gentleman, and sent him to get a good dinner with the peons.

Mr. de Roos and I had a great wish to have gone to the Cacique of Chenigué, to see even at a distance the triennial feast; but we found it was too far to walk, and we could not think of taking out the horses, who had to travel onward in the morning to Santiago; we therefore were forced to content ourselves with a visit to the Cacique of Yupeo, whose village joins San Fancisco de Monte. We found that His Majesty— must I call him?— was absent, probably at the feast at Chenigué. His wife received us very kindly: she is a

fine-looking intelligent woman; and when we entered, she was sitting on the estrada with a friend and one of her daughters, while another, a most beautiful girl, was kneading bread. The house is of the simplest description of straw ranchos, though large and commodious. The gardens and fields behind it are beautiful, and in the highest order, maintained by the labour of the Cacique, his two sons, and his Indians; over whom he still exercises a nominal jurisdiction, and possesses the authority of opinion, not less powerful here than in more civilised nations. As the land is all supposed to be his of right, he receives a small voluntary contribution in produce, by way of acknowledgment, for each field. Two-thirds of his village have been taken from him during the two last generations; so that now the Cacique is but a shadow. He talks of going, attended by a score of his best men, to the capital, to talk face to face with the Director, and to free himself from the interference of the commandants of districts, who vex him in every way. There is no difference whatever between the language, habits, or dress of these Indians, and other Chilenos,—a few customs only distinguish them; so completely have they assimilated with their invaders, who, on the other hand, have borrowed many of their usages.

On our return from the Cacique's, where our visit was acknowledged as a favour, and much regret that he himself had missed the opportunity of receiving English people in his house, and showing us how he had improved it *, we entered another Indian cottage, to return a staff which the mistress of it had kindly lent us to assist in crossing a muddy pool on the road. There we found a woman very ill with ague, and another consumptive; and I learn that these complaints are common, owing to the undrained marshes below the town. I should think the mud floors and the straw walls of the cottages, which cannot keep out the keen frosty winds from the Andes, must be equally injurious.

In the evening, Doña Dolores Ureta and her very pleasing daugh-

* He has actually made windows in it.

ters came to visit us. It was to this lady's house that the young men had ridden in the morning. She apologised for her husband's absence, on account of a severe indisposition. I have seldom seen a more pleasing ladylike woman, and her daughters are quite worthy of her. I was really glad of her presence, and the countenance I derived from it in my lodging. It being Sunday night, the principal room, which I thought was ours, filled with persons of all classesand sexes, and the usual amusements began. First, the gracioso, with his staff in the middle of the floor, performed a number of antics, and made speeches to every person present. He then sent for his harp, and played, while all manner of persons danced all sorts of dances. Doña Rosario and I, seated on our bed, with our visitors by us, saw as much or as little as we pleased of the holiday evening of a pulperia. These scenes, however, are only delightful in description. Le Sage, or Smollet, might have woven a charming chapter out of Doña Josefas' inn; but, like certain Dutch pictures, the charm is in the skill of the representation, not the scenes themselves. I was really sorry when Doña Dolores left us; but I believe the company took it as a hint to depart, for we saw no more of them. Shortly after we had seen the ladies to their carriage, we discovered that a large house in the neighbourhood was on fire, and thither every body flocked: the night was intensely cold; and as soon as I had heard that there were no inhabitants to be injured by the conflagration, I returned to the house, having a slight pain in my side.

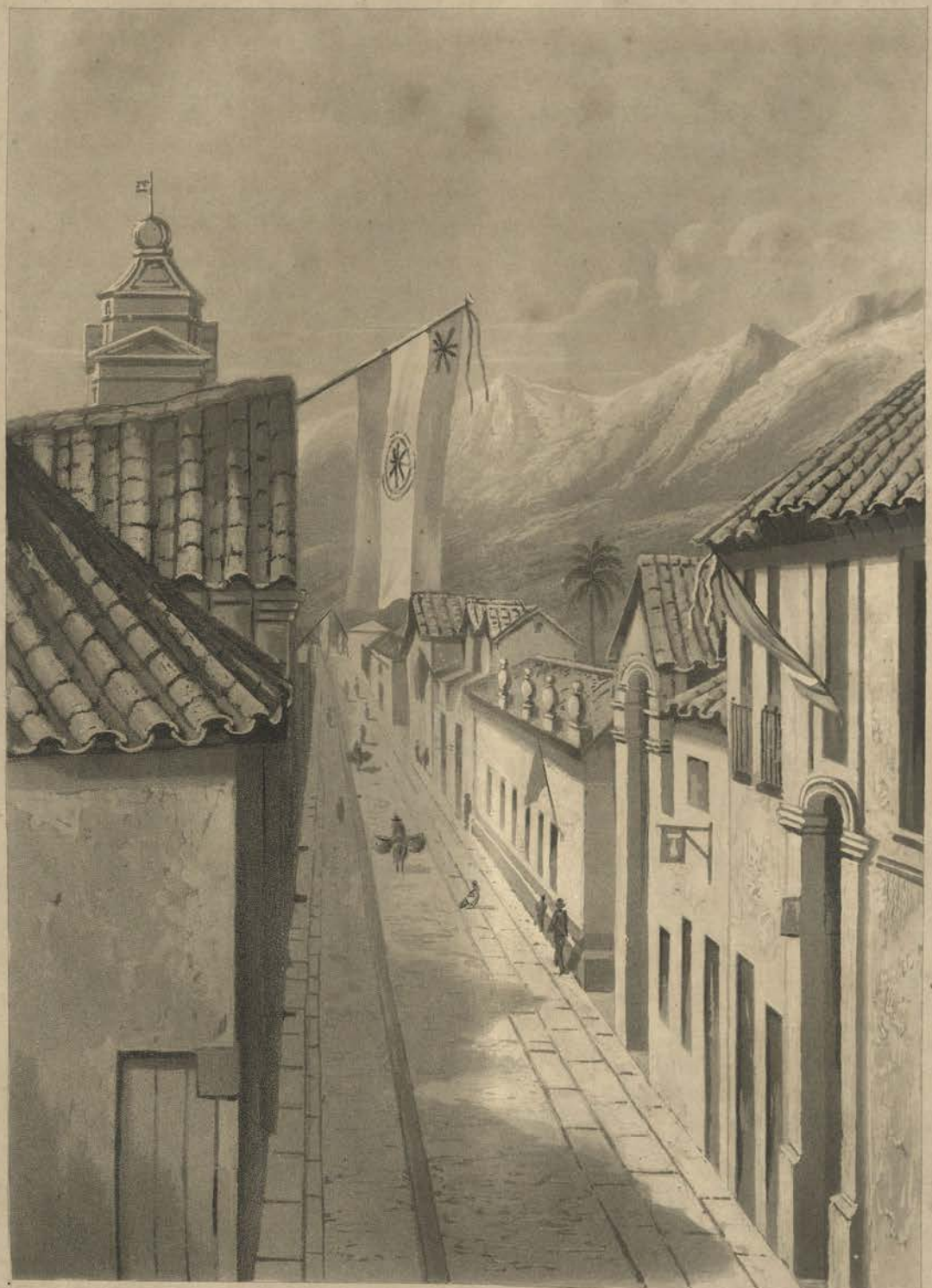
16*th Sept.*— We left San Francisco by Talagante, intending to go close by the mountain of San Miguel, to the farm where the new Mapocho comes by several copious springs from under-ground. We stopped at the Cacique's to pay our compliments, and bought some small jars and platters of red clay, ornamented with streaks of earth, to which iron pyrites give the appearance of gold dust. Talagante is a very populous village, and the women at every hut appear to be potters. The men are soldiers, sailors, carriers, and some few husbandmen; a fine, handsome, that is, well-made race, with faces very

Indian. We had scarcely left it a league, when I was obliged to lag a little behind the party by a violent cough, and then I broke a small blood-vessel.* It was some time before I could rejoin my friends; and then there was great consternation among them, as we were at least ten leagues from home. I proposed to them to ride on, and leave me to proceed slowly with the peon: this they refused to do; and the hemorrhage increasing, I felt pleased that they remained with me. I had nothing with me to stop the bleeding, and I longed for water; on which Don Jose Antonio recollecting a spring not far off, he and Mr. de Roos rode off to it, and filling the little jars we had brought with us, we put some orange-peel into it, and whenever the cough returned I took a mouthful. I found I dared not speak, nor ride fast; so at a foot's pace we went on to Santiago. I had two very serious attacks before I reached the city, but, on the whole, I cannot say I suffered much; it was a delightful day, and the scenery was beautiful and grand. We crossed the plain of Maypu farther to the westward, and nearer the scene of the great action than before. The ground was covered with flowers, and flocks of birds were collected round them. I thought if it were to be my last ride out among the works of God, it was one to sooth and comfort me; and I did not feel at all depressed. I may think, with more ease than most, of my end, detached as I now am from all kindred.

A few miles before we reached home Mr. De Roos rode on, and having told Doña Carmen what had happened, she ordered my maid to have fire, warm water, and my bed prepared. Mr. De Roos also found Dr. Craig, who came immediately, and as I was almost without fever and very well disposed to sleep soundly, the accident of the day promised to be of little consequence.

17*th.* — Letters from Valparaiso announce the arrival of the Doris, and that my poor cousin Glennie has taken possession of my house, being in a state of health that gives little hope of his recovery. He

* I was the more vexed at the accident, as it prevented my seeing the coming out of the Mapocho, if it be indeed that river.



Drawn by Maria Graham

Engraved by Edwd Finden

STREET OF SAN DOMINGO SANTIAGO DE CHILE.

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broke a blood-vessel in consequence of over-exertion at Callao, and is obliged to invalid, as the surgeon thinks the voyage round the Horn, whither the ship is bound, would be fatal. It is very distressing to me not to be able to go instantly to Valparaiso to receive him, but I am confined to bed myself. I have also kind letters from Lord Cochrane, enclosing an introduction to General Freire, in case I should ride down to Conception, as I intended, from hence: but proposing the better plan of going by sea in the Montezuma, when His Lordship himself goes. Alas! I can do neither; and I fear I must give up my hopes of visiting Peru, as well as going to the south of Chile. My own slight illness I should think nothing of, but the poor invalid at Valparaiso must have all my time and attention.

18*th.* — The anniversary of the independence of Chile. The first thing I heard after a long sleepless night was the trampling of horses; and I got out of bed and went to the balcony, whence I saw the country militia going to the ground where the Director is to review them all. They are in number about 2000; armed with lances, twenty feet long, of cane, headed with iron. The men are dressed in their ordinary dress, with military caps and scarlet ponchos; and the different divisions are distinguished by borders or collars, or some other trivial mark. I have heard many jests upon the discipline of the red cloaks; but B., who knows them well, says, "True, they may on parade mistake *eyes right* for *eyes left*, but at the battle of Maypu they never mistook the enemy;" and, in truth, on that day, when the regular troops had begun to give ground, they are said to have turned the fortune of the day. They are admirable horsemen, as indeed every country-bred Chileno is. They ride like centaurs, seeming to make but one person with their horse; and I have seen them wrestle and fight on horseback as if they had been on foot. I I was glad the Casa Cotapo stands so directly in the way of the exercising ground. The only compensation I can have for not being present at the national rejoicing is the seeing the troops pass. I

thought of young Lastra, and am charmed to learn that the decree of amnesty has this day passed, which will restore him and many others to their families.

To day the bishop performed Mass in the cathedral, for the first time since his restoration. The ladies have been visiting and complimenting each other; and the streets, both last night and to-night, were illuminated. I felt low and ill all day.

21*st of Sept.* — The good-natured inhabitants of Santiago have all testified, in some way or other, their sympathy with my sufferings; from the Director, who sent M. De la Salle with a very kind letter, in his own name and that of the ladies, to the poor nuns I had visited, who sent me a plate of excellent custard, made according to one of their own private recipes. Reyes has been constant in his visits, and has procured me a plan of the city, and an account of the most remarkable indigenous trees, with permission to copy both.

24*th.* — I have been better, and am much worse. My friend Mr. Dance, from the Doris, arrived the day before yesterday with letters from every body on board, and a better account of poor Glennie. Mr. B—— has interested himself to procure a comfortable caleche for me to travel to the port, as I am anxious to get home, and am not able to think of riding thither. Nothing can be more truly kind than Doña Carmen de Cotapos and all her daughters, since I first became their guest, and especially since my illness. Mr. Prevost too has been unwearied in his friendly attentions; but what can I say of my good and skilful physician Dr. Craig, that can acknowledge my obligations sufficiently? As to my own sea friends, their affectionate care is only what I depended on.

I have been grieved since I came back from Melipilla by the state of a beautiful and amiable girl, which has arisen from a misunderstood spirit of devotion. Before I went away she was gay and cheerful, the delight of her father's house. Her music and her poetry, and her reading aloud while others worked, formed the charm of her home. But her mother, though a clever woman, is a bigot; and

Maria's mind, of a high and lofty nature, is peculiarly susceptible of religious impressions. Under these, the tender-conscienced girl, to punish herself for an attachment not favoured by her house, which she still felt, though at her parents' bidding she had given up its object, resolved to go for ten days to a Casa de Exercisio. There, under the guidance of an old priest, the young creatures who retire thus are kept praying night and day, with so little food and sleep that their bodies and minds alike become weakened. All the intervals between the Masses, which are of the most lugubrious chants, are passed in silence; no voice is heard above a whisper, and the light of heaven is scarcely admitted. A young married woman who went in with Maria came out even gayer than she entered; doubtless her heart had rested on her husband and their home. But what was to occupy the thoughts and affections of the girl whose best feelings were to be crushed? Could she harbour there

"A wish but death, a passion but despair?"

And she has returned as it were to earth, — on it, but not of it. The sight of friends throws her into fits of hysterical weeping; and, only prostrate before the altar, and repeating the Masses of her house of woe, does she seem soothed or calmed. Such are the effects of the house of exercise. I might have thought that my young friend's peculiar disposition alone had caused this; but I know a youth who was, I am told, once all that parents could wish, — accomplished and enlightened, and possessed of honour and spirit. He is now little better than a drivelling idiot. He went into a house of exercise a man, — he came out of it what he is. Oh! if I had power or influence here, I would put down these mischievous establishments. Even when they do not cause, as in this instance, a derangement of the intellect, they are nurseries of bigotry and fanaticism. To have been in one is a source of vanity, to conform to the sentiments inculcated there a point of conscience; and as it is easier to be a bigot than a virtuous man, great laxity of conduct is permitted, so the spirit

is bent to maintain the church, and to persecute, or at least keep down, those who are not of it.

It was not without regret that on the 28th September I left Santiago, where I have been so kindly received, and where there is still much new and interesting to see. I do hope to return in summer, when I mean to cross the mountain by the Cumbre pass *, visit Mendoza, and return by the pass of San Juan de los Patos ; by which the great body of San Martin's army entered the country in 1816. However, in the meantime I must gain a little more health, and a great deal more strength. I am scarcely sorry that I was obliged to travel in a caleche for once. All our party assembled after passing the toll-house, and other necessary ceremonies at the house of Loyola, the owner of the caleche, about a league from Santiago, on the plain called the Llomas ; and then, sick as I felt, I could not help laughing at the "*set out.*" In the first place, there was the calisa, a very light square body of a carriage, mounted on a coarse heavy axle, and two clumsy wheels painted red, while the body is sprigged and flowered like a furniture chintz, lined with old yellow and red Chinese silk, without glasses, but having striped gingham curtains. Between the shafts, of the size and shape of those of a dung-cart, was a fine mule, not without silver studs among her trappings, mounted by a handsome lad in a poncho, and armed with spurs whose rowels were bigger than a dollar, and with a little straw hat stuck on one side. On each side of the mule was a horse, fastened to the axle of the wheel, each with his rider, also in full Chile costume. Then there was Loyola's son as a guide, handsomely dressed in a full guaso dress, mounted on a fine horse : with him Mr. Dance and Mr. Candler, of the Doris, also in the same dress ; my young friend de Roos having left us some days before on the expiration of his leave of absence. Last, though by no means least, in his own esteem, was my peon Felipe, with his three mules and the baggage, accompanied by another peon

* The barometer gives 12,000 feet as the greatest height of the pass at the foot of the volcano of Aconcagua, where that river flows to the west, and that of Mendoza to the east.

with the relay horses for the calisa. When seated in the chaise I observed how the horses were harnessed. A stout iron ring is fixed to the saddle, and a thong passes from the axle-tree to that ring, so that it serves as a single trace, by which the horse drags his portion of the weight on one side. Occasionally they change sides, to relieve the cattle. On going down any little declivity the horses keep wide of the carriage, so as to support it a little; and on descending a mountain they are removed from the front, and the thongs are brought backward from the axle-trees and fastened to rings in the fore part of the saddles; and the horses serve not only instead of clogs to the wheels, but support part of the weight, which might otherwise overpower the mule in the descent. The season is considerably advanced since we went to the city; the plains are thickly and richly covered with grass and flowers; the village orchards are in full leaf and blossom, and the pruning of the vines is begun. The horses, and other animals, are once more sent into the potreros to grass, and spring comes to all but me. Mine is past, and my summer has been blighted; yet hope, blessed hope! remains, that the autumn of my days may at least be more tranquil.

I suffered a great deal the two first days on the road, but the third I felt sensibly better, and fancied myself almost well; when, at the first post-house from Valparaiso, I found Captain Spencer, with half-a-dozen of my young shipmates, whom he had good naturedly brought out to meet me, and among them poor Glennie. We all made a cheerful luncheon together, and then rode to Valparaiso; my maid mounting her horse, and Glennie taking her place in the calisa.

At home I found Mr. Hogan, and several other friends, waiting to welcome me. And truly I have seldom enjoyed rest so much as this night, when both mind and body reposed, as they have not done since I knew of Glennie's arrival in bad health.

October 1*st*. — I find that the affairs of the squadron are much worse than when I left the port: the wages are yet unpaid, and the crews of the ships are becoming clamorous for money, for clothing, and all other necessaries. Discontent is spreading wide, and, as usual,

directed against every object and every person, with or without reason. Even Lord Cochrane, after all his exertions and sacrifices both for the state and the squadron, has been made the object of a malicious calumny, which, indeed, he has condescended to disprove most convincingly; but which is, nevertheless, mortifying, as coming directly from individuals who have been benefited and trusted by him and the country they serve. This calumny charges him with having made a private advantageous bargain for himself, and having already received from the government the greater part of the money destined for the pay of the whole squadron. I have been much pleased by a letter written to him by the lieutenants of the squadron on the occasion, dated only yesterday, and of which a copy has been obligingly given me by one of those signing it.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"We, the undersigned officers of the Chile squadron, have heard "with surprise and indignation the vile and scandalous reports tending to bring Your Excellency's high character into question, and to "destroy that confidence and admiration with which it has always "inspired us.

"We have seen with pleasure the measures Your Excellency has "adopted to suppress so malicious and absurd a conspiracy, and "trust that no means will be spared to bring its authors to public "shame.

"At a time like the present, when the best interests of the squadron, and our dearest rights as individuals, are at stake, we feel "particularly indignant at an attempt to destroy that union and confidence which at present exists, and which we are assured ever will, "while we have the honour to serve under Your Excellency's "command.

"With these sentiments, we subscribe ourselves

"Your Excellency's most obedient humble servants.

(Signed) "P. O. GRENFELL, *Lieut. Commanding* MERCEDES,

"And all Officers of the Squadron."

The reports alluded to, though apparently caused by the thoughtlessness of an indifferent person, tend so directly to the accomplishment of the ends of a certain party in the state, that one cannot help connecting them. The jealousy entertained against the Admiral by those whose genius quails before his, strengthened by the suspicions to which foreigners are universally exposed, is now more at liberty to rage, because the great object of destroying the mother country's maritime power in the Pacific is accomplished. And this jealousy has been ingeniously fostered by subordinate persons, interested in getting rid of what has been felt to be an English interest here, particularly by some of the agents of the United States, who have made common cause with San Martin and his agents. Could the creatures of this party separate Lord Cochrane from the squadron in any way, their great object would be easily accomplished; and for this end the present juncture is favourable. The sufferings and poverty of the squadron in general are hard to bear; and to make the officers and men believe that the Admiral had made a favourable arrangement for himself, neglecting them, was a direct means of destroying that confidence and union which has constituted hitherto the strength of the squadron. For this time the design has failed; but who can say how long the present calm may last?

2d. — As my own health is far from being strong, and my poor invalid requires every moment's attendance, I cannot go out in search of news, therefore I take it all at once as it is brought to me; and to-day I have been almost overwhelmed with details about the new regulations of trade, the taxes to be laid on, and the monopolies of the minister Rodriguez, and his partner Arcas. In addition to the spirits and tobaccos they long ago purchased with the government money, they have now bought up the cottons, cloths, and other articles of clothing, and only their own agents or pulperie-men are able to procure such for any customer. This, added to the want of a small coin, and the use of notes for three-pences, only payable, or rather exchangeable, for goods from their own shops, is a severe grievance, and will, of course, at once retard civilisation and rob the revenue;

for it will drive the people back to their habits of wearing nothing but their household stuffs, and thereby afford less leisure for agriculture, thence less food, and consequently check the now increasing population; at the same time that, by discouraging the use of foreign stuffs, the import duties must fail. Are nations like individuals, who never profit by each other's experience? and must each state have its dark age?

I have received many visits in the course of the day to congratulate me on my return, the most and the kindest from my naval friends; and I am particularly flattered by Lord Cochrane's coming with Captains Wilkinson and Crosbie, and Mr. H. E. to tea. Before I could give it to them, an incident truly characteristic happened: we were obliged to wait while a man went to catch a cow with the laça on the hill, to procure milk. After what I had seen of the management of the dairy at M. Salinas', I could not wonder, and had nothing to do but sit patiently till the milk arrived, and my guests being older inhabitants of the country than I am, were equally resigned; and the interval was filled with pleasant conversation.

6th. — The exorbitant duties, not yet formally imposed but announced, on various English goods, have induced Capt. Vernon, of H. M. ship Doris, to go to Santiago; and, if possible, procure some mitigation of the duties, or at least a less vexatious regulation with regard to the manifesto. I wish our government would acknowledge the independence of the states of South America at once; and send proper consuls or agents to guard our trade, and to take from it the disgrace of being little else than smuggling on a larger scale. How easily might it have been settled, for instance, that the brute metals of this country should be legal returns for the manufactured goods of Europe, India, and China; instead of, as now, subjecting them to all the losses and risks of smuggling: for, as they are the only returns the country can make to Europe, they *will* find their way thither; and the attempt to confine them is as absurd as that ancient law of Athens which forbade the selling of the figs of Attica, lest

a stranger should buy and eat of what was too delicious for any but an Athenian palate.

This new reglamento is not the only point on which some state ferment seems about to arise. The Director had appointed General Cruz to supersede General Freire as governor of Talcahuana and chief of the army of the south; but the soldiers have refused to receive him, or to permit Freire to leave them, and are become as clamorous for their pay as the sailors are. Some politicians here do not scruple to attribute ambitious thoughts to Freire, and to accuse him of being the instigator of the clamours of the soldiers: but the true cause is in the bad faith of the government in refusing to pay up their arrears; in neglecting to provide any compensation for the sufferings and losses of the people of Conception, who have undergone more than those of any other province during the war of the Revolution; and in tyrannically attempting to ruin every port in Chile but that of Valparaiso, for the sake of monopolising the commerce of the country.

As to the squadron, the men talk of seizing the ships if they are not paid forthwith; and it is given out that their officers will stand by them. But these reports are built rather on the provocations to take the law into their own hands, than on any expressions of the parties themselves.

8th.— My pleasure in receiving the visits of several of my friends to-day, has been sadly damped by the increased sufferings of poor Glennie. These sufferings have met with sympathy however, if not relief, in a quarter from which I scarcely looked for it; namely, from La Chavelita, the old lady of the flower-garden, who appeared about four o'clock with a bundle of herbs, carried by a little serving boy, and stalking into the room with great dignity, her tall figure rendered still taller by a high-crowned black hat, she seated herself by the bedside, and began to question the patient as to his disease: she then turned to me, and told me she had brought some medicines, one of which she would administer immediately; and in order to prepare it desired me to procure some warm brandy. This being done, she

produced from her leathern pocket a piece of cocoa grease, and dipping it into the brandy, began to anoint G.'s shoulders with it, harangueing all the time on the intimate connection between the shoulders and the lungs, and saying that whoever wished to cure the latter should begin by cooling the former. Having operated for a quarter of an hour, she suffered the patient to lie down ; and taking a bundle of cachanlangue (*herb centaury*) from the boy, desired me to infuse half of it in boiling water, and give the tea occasionally; and the other half was to be placed in a glass of spirits, and the shoulders to be occasionally whipped with it. She assured me that the pulse would go down and the hemorrhage cease by degrees, by constant use of the herb. She also gave me a bundle of wild carrot, of which she directed me to make a tisane, well sweetened, to be drank occasionally, and then, having given a history of similar cases cured by her prescriptions, to which she sometimes adds an infusion of the leaves of vinagrillo (*yellow wood-sorrel, with a thick fleshy leaf*), she took leave.

9th.— One cannot attend to private concerns two days together. This morning I learn that the squadron is in such a state from want, that a delegate has been sent to the supreme government; and that the captains serving in the Chileno ships have addressed a serious letter to it, setting forth their claims, their sufferings, and the injustice done them.* In other respects, things are quieter; and it seems as if patience were allowing time for the effect of the remonstrances.

Lord Cochrane and Captain Crosbie came in the evening; and as we never talk politics while drinking tea and eating bread and honey, we had at least one pleasant hour without thinking of governments, or mutinies, or injustice of any kind,— a rare blessing here, when two or three are together. There are so few people here, and all those are so directly interested in these matters, that it is not

* See Appendix for this remonstrance, communicated to me shortly after it was forwarded to government by one of the captains; and also for the letter on the same subject addressed to the Admiral by the lieutenants of the squadron.

wonderful nothing else should be talked of; but I, who am only a passenger, sometimes sigh for what I enjoyed this evening — a little rational conversation on more general topics.

Captain Vernon returned this night with a copy of the reglamento in his pocket. I hear it is so inconsistent, that it will defeat its own purpose.

13*th.* — Every one has been electrified to-day by the sudden arrival of General San Martin, the Protector of Peru, in this port. Since the forcible expulsion of his minister and favourite, Monteagudo, from office by the people of Lima*, while he himself was absent visiting Bolivar at Guayaquil, he had felt some alarm concerning his own security; and had, it is believed, from time to time deposited considerable sums on board of the Puyrredon, in case of the worst. At length, at midnight on the 20th September, he embarked, and ordered the captain to get under weigh instantly, although the vessel was not half manned, and had scarcely any water on board. He then ran down to Ancon, whence he despatched a messenger to Lima, and his impatience could scarcely brook the necessary delay before an answer could arrive: when it did come, he ordered the captain instantly to sail for Valparaiso; and now gives out here, that a rheumatic pain in one of his arms obliges him to have recourse to the baths of Cauquenes. If true, "'tis strange, 'tis passing strange."

14*th.* — Reports arrive this morning that San Martin has been arrested; and that having endeavoured to smuggle a quantity of gold, it is seized.

Noon. — So far from San Martin being arrested, two of the Director's aides-de-camp have arrived to pay him compliments, — besides, the fort saluted his flag.

Many persons, knowing Lord Cochrane's sentiments with regard to the General, and that he looks on him both as a traitor to Chile and a dishonest man, made little doubt but that His Lordship would arrest him. Had he done so, I think the government would have

* 25th July, 1822.

gladly acquiesced. But the uprightness and delicacy of Lord Cochrane's feelings have induced him to leave him to the government itself.

Night.— The Director's carriage is arrived to convey San Martin to the city; General Priete and Major O'Carrol are also in attendance; and there are four orderlies appointed, who are never to lose sight of him. Some think by way of keeping him in honourable arrest, others, and I am inclined to be of the number, that real or affected fear for his life, while in the port, occasions the constant attendance of such a train. The General himself persists in saying that his visit to Chile is solely on account of his rheumatic arm, and at first sight it seems hard not to allow a man credit for knowing the motives of his own actions. But one of the penalties of conspicuous station is to be judged by others.

> " Oh, hard condition ! and twin-born of greatness,
> Subject to breath of ev'ry fool." *Henry V.*

15th of October. — After a very busy day spent in seeing and taking leave of my friends of the Doris, who are to sail to-morrow, I was surprised, just as I had taken leave of the last, at being told that a great company was approaching. I had scarcely time to look up before I perceived Zenteno, the governor of Valparaiso, ushering in a very tall fine-looking man, dressed in plain black clothes, whom he announced as General San Martin. They were followed by Madame Zenteno and her step-daughter, Doña Dolores, Colonel D'Albe and his wife and sister, General Priete, Major O'Carrol, Captain Torres, who I believe is captain of the port here, and two other gentlemen whom I do not know. It was not easy to arrange the seats of such a company in a room scarcely sixteen feet square, and lumbered with books and other things necessary to the comfort of an European woman. At length, however, my occupation of much serving, being over, I could sit, and observe, and listen. San Martin's eye has a peculiarity in it that I never saw before but once, and that once was in the head of a celebrated lady.

It is dark and fine, but restless; it never seemed to fix for above a moment, but that moment expressed every thing. His countenance is decidedly handsome, sparkling, and intelligent; but *not open.* His manner of speaking quick, but often obscure, with a few tricks and by-words; but a great flow of language, and a readiness to talk on all subjects.

I am not fond of recording even the topics of private conversation, which I think ought always to be sacred. But San Martin is not a private man; and besides, the subjects were general, not personal. We spoke of government; and there I think his ideas are far from being either clear or decisive. There seems a timidity of intellect, which prevents the daring to give freedom and the daring to be despotic alike. The wish to enjoy the reputation of a liberator and the will to be a tyrant are strangely contrasted in his discourse. He has not read much, nor is his genius of that stamp that can go alone. Accordingly, he continually quoted authors whom he evidently knew but by halves, and of the half he knew he appeared to me to mistake the spirit. When we spoke of religion, and Zenteno joined in the discourse, he talked much of philosophy; and both those gentlemen seemed to think that philosophy consisted in leaving religion to the priests and to the vulgar, as a state-machine, while the wise man would laugh alike at the monk, the protestant, and the deist. Well does Bacon say, "None deny there is a God but those for whom it maketh that there were no God;" and truly, when I consider his actions, I feel that he should be an atheist if he would avoid despair. But I am probably too severe on San Martin. His natural shrewd sense must have led him to perceive the absurdity of the Roman Catholic superstitions, which here are naked in their ugliness, not glossed over with the pomp and elegance of Italy; and which from state policy he has often joined in with all outward demonstrations of respect: and it has been observed, that "The Roman Catholic system is shaken off with much greater difficulty than those which are taught in the reformed churches; but when it loses its hold of the mind, it much more frequently prepares the way for unlimited

scepticism." And this appears to me to be exactly the state of San Martin's mind. From religion, and the changes it has undergone from corruptions and from reformations, the transition was easy to political revolutions. The reading of all South American reformers is mostly in a French channel; and the age of Louis XIV. was talked of as the direct and only cause of the French revolution, and consequently of those in South America. A slight compliment was thrown in to King William before I had ventured to observe, that perhaps the former evils and present good of these countries might in part be traced to the wars of Charles V. and his successor, draining these provinces of money, and returning nothing. A great deal more passed, ending in a reference to that advance of intellect in Europe which in a single age had produced the invention of printing, the discovery of America, and begun that reformation that had bettered even the practice of Rome herself. Zenteno, glad to attack Rome, and to show his reading, exclaimed, " And well did her practice need reform; for she would have crowned Tasso, and did crown Petrarch, but imprisoned Gallileo." Thus taking the converse of Foscolo's true and admirable doctrine, — that the exact sciences may become the instruments of tyranny; but never poetry, or history, or oratory. I was glad of the interruption afforded by the entrance of tea to this somewhat pedantic discourse, which I never should have made a note of but that it was San Martin's. I apologised for having no matee to offer; but I found that both the General and Zenteno drank tea without milk, with their segars in preference. But the interruption even of tea, stopped San Martin but for a short time. Resuming the discourse, he talked of physic, of language, of climate, of diseases, and that not delicately; and lastly, of antiquities, especially those of Peru; and told some very marvellous stories of the perfect preservation of some whole families of ancient Caciques and Incas who had buried themselves alive on the Spanish invasion: and this brought us to far the most interesting part of his discourse, — his own leaving Lima. He told me, that, resolved to know whether the people were really happy, he used to

disguise himself in a common dress, and, like the caliph Haroun Alraschid, to mingle in the coffee-houses, and in the gossipping parties at the shop doors; that he often heard himself spoken of; and gave me to understand, that he had found that the people were now happy enough to do without him; and said that, after the active life he had led, he began to wish for rest; that he had withdrawn from public life, satisfied that his part was accomplished, and that he had only brought with him the flag of Pizarro, the banner under which the empire of the Incas had been conquered, and which had been displayed in every war, not only those between the Spaniards and Peruvians, but those of the rival Spanish chiefs. "*Its possession,*" said he, "*has always been considered the mark of power and authority;* I HAVE IT NOW;" and he drew himself up to his full height, and looked round him with a most imperial air. Nothing so characteristic as this passed during the whole four hours the Protector remained with me. It was the only moment in which he was himself. The rest was partly an habitual talking on all subjects, to dazzle the less understanding; and partly the impatience to be first, even in common conversation, which his long habit of command has given him. I pass over the compliments he paid me, somewhat too profusely for the occasion; but of such we may say, as Johnson did of affectation, that they are excusable, because they proceed from the laudable desire of pleasing. Indeed, his whole manner was most courteous: I could not but observe, that his movements as well as his person are graceful; and I can well believe what I have heard, that in a ball-room he has few superiors. Of the other persons present, Colonel d'Albe and the ladies only volunteered a few words. It was with difficulty that, in my endeavours to be polite to all, I forced a syllable now and then from the other gentlemen. They seemed as if afraid to commit themselves; so at length I left them alone, and the whole discourse soon fell into the Protector's hands.

Upon the whole, the visit of this evening has not impressed me much in favour of San Martin. His views are narrow, and I think selfish. His philosophy, as he calls it, and his religion, are upon

a par; both are too openly used as mere masks to impose on the world; and, indeed, they are so worn as that they would not impose on any people but those he has unhappily had to rule. He certainly has no genius; but he has some talents, with no learning, and little general knowledge. Of that little, however, he has the dexterity to make a great deal of use; nobody possesses more of that most useful talent, "*l'art de se faire valoir.*" His fine person, his air of superiority, and that suavity of manner which has so long enabled him to lead others, give him very decided advantages. He understands English, and speaks French tolerably; and I know no person with whom it might be pleasanter to pass half an hour: but the want of heart, and the want of candour, which are evident even in conversation of any length, would never do for intimacy, far less for friendship.

At nine o'clock the party left me, much pleased certainly at having seen one of the most remarkable men in South America; and I think that, perhaps, in the time, I saw as much of him as was possible. He aims at universality, in imitation of Napoleon; who had, I have heard, something of that weakness, and whom he is always talking of as his model, or rather rival. * I think too that he had a mind to exhibit himself to me as a stranger; or Zenteno might have suggested, that even the little additional fame that my report of him could give was worth the trouble of seeking. The fact certainly is, that he did talk to-night for display.

16*th.*—I have lost this day all my best known friends. Captain Spencer is gone to Buenos Ayres across the Andes: the Doris has sailed for Rio de Janeiro; and I feel her departure the more, from the situation of my poor invalid. Of all who once made that ship interesting to me, none but poor G. remains with me; and of the rest how probable it is that I may have lost sight of most of them for life!

17*th.* — Mr. Clarke called on his way to the city, and brought me San Martin's farewell to Peru. It is as follows: —

* In his closet at Mendoza, his own portrait was placed between those of Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington.

" I have been present at the declaration of the independence of " the states of Chile and of Peru. The standard which Pizarro " brought hither to enslave the empire of the Incas is in my power. " I have ceased to be a public man: thus I am rewarded with usury " for ten years of revolution and war.

" My promises to the countries where I have made war are ful- " filled, — to make them independent, and to leave them to the free " choice of their government.

" The presence of a fortunate soldier (however disinterested I may " be) is terrible to newly constituted states; and, besides, I am " shocked at hearing it said that I desire to make myself a sovereign. " Nevertheless, I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for " the liberty of the country; but in the rank of a simple individual, " *and no other.*

" As to my public conduct, my countrymen, as in most things, " will be divided in their opinions: their posterity will pronounce " a true sentence.

" Peruvians! I leave you an established national representation: " if you repose entire confidence in it, sing your song of triumph; if " not, anarchy will devour you.

" May prudence preside over your destinies; and may these crown " you with happiness and peace!

" JOSE DE SAN MARTIN.

" Pueblo Libro, Sept. 20th, 1822."

If there be any thing real in this, if he really retires and troubles the world no more, he will merit at least such praise as was bestowed on

" The Roman, when his burning heart
Was slaked with blood of Rome,
Threw down his dagger, dared depart
In savage grandeur home:
He dared depart in utter scorn
Of men that such a yoke had borne."

For indeed he has not " held his faculties meekly;" but yet he has done something for the good cause; — and oh! had the means been

righteous as the cause, he would have been the very first of his countrymen: but there is blood on his hands; there is the charge of treachery on his heart.

He is this day gone to Cauquenes, and has left the port not one whit enlightened as to the cause of his leaving Peru. It is probably like the retirement of Monteagudo, a sacrifice of his political existence in order to save his natural life. *

I think Lord Cochrane went either to day or yesterday to Quintero. The Valparaiso world would have rejoiced in some meeting, some scene, between him and San Martin: but his good sense, and truly honourable feelings towards the country he serves, have prevented this. If San Martin is unfortunate, and forced to fly his dominion, His Lordship's conduct is magnanimous; if it be only a *ruse de guerre* on San Martin's part to save himself, it is prudent, and will leave him at liberty to expose the Protector as he deserves.

Monday the 21st.—During these last few days Valparaiso has enjoyed nearly its ordinary state of dull tranquillity. It seems the convention had, notwithstanding the express wish of the executive, rejected the reglamento *in toto*; but their vote being sent back for revision, its operation is to be suspended for a few months.

My poor invalid continues suffering, though the kindness of my neighbours and the advance of the season enable me to procure for him all the little comforts which can amuse his mind, or gratify his still delicate appetite. Milk is very abundant at this season; green peas are come in; a friend sends us asparagus from the city; and the strawberries are just ripe. It is the custom here, when this elegant fruit first comes in, to tie it up in bunches, with a rose, a pink, or a sprig of balm; and these little bunches, laid on the evergreen leaves of mayten, shaded with sprigs of the same, and laid in little wicker baskets, are brought by the rosy-faced children, from all the gardens within ten miles, to the port for sale. I have known a real

* See Lord Cochrane's letter, and Lima Justificada.

given for a single strawberry on their first ripening, but now a real will purchase more than two persons could eat.

26th. — The Lautaro arrived from Talcahuana under most uncomfortable circumstances: she has had a serious mutiny on board, occasioned by the want of food and other necessaries while in the south; and the officers themselves felt so severely the same evils, that they could not restrain the men, as in any other case they might have done. As soon as the ship went to a neighbouring port, where she could procure provisions, the people returned to their duty; and the captain and officers would fain have passed over the whole thing, but the mutiny was already reported to government, and it is said that it is determined to punish some of the ringleaders. I trust, however, that in their justice they will remember mercy, and think of the wants that exasperated the crew and their good conduct afterwards.

We learn that Lord Cochrane is gone to the city on business connected with the squadron; and as he is said to be living with the Director, it is hoped that at length the government will do justice in its naval department.

October 31st. — This month has been a most important one for Chile. The government has promulgated its new constitution and its new commercial regulations, neither of which appear to me to answer their purpose.

The *reglamento*, or commercial regulation, begins by a long preamble, addressed by the minister of the interior to the convention on laying before it the rules drawn up by a committee composed partly of ministers and partly of merchants: I understand not much of these things; but there are passages so opposite to common sense, that a child must be struck with them. The three first sections concern the establishment and subordination of custom-house officers, of whom some are to be stationary and some ambulatory; the latter are to be obeyed wherever they are met, on the hills, in the road, or out of it, in all weathers. They are to have a copper badge about the size of a crown-piece, which they are to wear concealed; and yet if they stop a cargo in the midst of the widest plain, or in the worst

weather, that cargo must be opened, and is not to be removed till proper officers are fetched to watch it to the nearest station, to see whether it contains smuggled goods, or whether a piece of cotton runs a yard more or less than the manifest; for now, every bale must have the precise number of yards specified as well as pieces. By this regulation many sorts of goods must be destroyed, most injured; and in case of rain, the sugars, for instance, taken from the backs of mules and examined in the open road, must be damaged, if not lost. This clumsy attempt at exactness must of course soon be put an end to.

The sixth section declares Valparaiso to be the only free port of Chile, thus doing a manifest injustice to all the others; a declaration too, highly imprudent, considering the jealousies on the subject that have always existed in the south, and those that have occasionally appeared at Coquimbo. The lesser ports, as Concon, Quintero, &c. are absolutely closed against all foreign vessels; and native ships have some hard restrictions imposed on them, such, for instance, as a prohibition to touch at those ports on their arrival from foreign countries. Besides Valparaiso, foreign ships are allowed to touch at Coquimbo, Talcahuana, and Valdivia; also San Carlos de Chiloe, *when it is conquered;* and, with a government licence, they may go to Huasco and Copiapo, but solely for the purpose of taking in copper.

All foreign vessels touching in any of these ports must pay four reals per ton, excepting whalers, who pay nothing: native ships coming from abroad to pay two reals per ton; but if employed in coasting, nothing: for pilotage, anchorage, and mooring, all vessels with one mast pay five dollars; with two masts, ten dollars; with three masts, fifteen dollars. National ships or foreign whalers, not trading, to pay one half of the above duties.

The seventh section confines the legal and free passes of the Andes to one; namely, that by the valley of Santa Rosa. So that those of San Juan de los Patos, the pass of the Portillo, and that of the Planchon, are shut up: this is not the way to civilise a country.

And, moreover, all cargoes must pass through Mendoza, and receive a certificate there, or they will not be allowed to enter Chile. All this is followed by the narrowest and most vexatious rules for manifests, for trans-shipments, for land-carriage, &c. that the ingenuity of man has devised, bearing alike upon foreigners and natives, merchants and husbandmen.

The most curious thing in the whole production is the notice in the preamble of the twelfth section concerning importations. The duties on all these are so high, as in many cases to amount to a prohibition, with the view of protecting home-manufactures, forgetting that, excepting hats and small beer, there is not a single manufactory established in Chile; for we can hardly call such the soap-boiling and candle-dipping of the country. And because a man in Santiago has actually made a pair of stockings in a day, no more foreign stockings are to be introduced; so that the ladies must learn to knit, or go barefoot; for it is hardly to be hoped that the one pair manufactured per day will supply even the capital. Better take a few Manchester stockings until he of Santiago has a few more workmen employed. As there are literally no Chilian cabinet-makers, the prohibitions of foreign chairs and tables will send the young ladies back to squatting on the estrada; and as it must be some years, perhaps centuries, before they will raise and weave silk here, or manufacture muslins, we shall have them clad in their ancient woollen manteaus; and future travellers will praise the pretty savages, instead of delighting in the society of well-dressed and well-bred young ladies. The passage which I allude to is so curious I must copy it, for the benefit of those of my friends who wish to form a just estimate of the wisdom of the Chileno legislature in these matters.

After noticing that these regulations must lead either to an increase of the public funds, or to an entire cessation of all importations, which the minister very properly contemplates as the most probable result, he says, "Would to God that these regulations may bring "about the day when we shall see the total products of our "custom-houses, as far as relates to foreign goods, reduced to a

" cipher! Then should we see the true rising-star of our prosperity. " Our fertile soil abounds in productions of all sorts, and we need " but little from abroad. On whichever side we look, Nature is " overflowing, and only wants *funds, talents, activity, industry.* Yes, " I repeat, — let that day arrive, our exports will augment, and im- " portation will decrease; and in a happy hour may the receipts of " the treasury decrease with them," &c. &c. &c. This, for a state yet in infancy, with a bare million of inhabitants, and those half savages, and which produces, ready made, that metal from its hills which may purchase the manufactures of the world, is perhaps as exquisite a specimen of the perversion of principles, and of their misapplication, as it is possible to conceive. The discourses of Mentor in Telemachus would be just as applicable. Chile for a long period ought not to spare people to manufacture any thing beyond necessaries; she wants hands to till the ground, to dig the mines, to man the ships, which she must have if she will have any thing. Her raw production, her staple commodity, is gold, or the equally valuable copper; and it grieves one to see a parcel of rules well enough for a ready-civilised country in Europe, — where the niggard earth yields not wherewithal to trade, and all must be laboured and fashioned, and the gold and silver must be made with men's hands, — adopted here, where every circumstance is diametrically opposite.

This is quite enough of the reglamento for me. I have no patience for custom-house registers, and manifests, and invoices, and understand them as little as I like them. Besides, I have nothing to do with them, except as they are here part of an essay towards governing a new state by no means as yet prepared for them.

I remember the time when I should as little have thought of reading the reglamento of Chile, as I should of poring over the report of a committee of turnpike roads in a distant country; and far less should I have dreamed of occupying myself with the *Constitucion Politica del estado de Chile.* But, times and circumstances make strange inroads on one's habits both of being and thinking; and I have actually caught myself reading, with a considerable degree of interest, the said Political Constitution. It was promulgated on the 23d of this

month, and is but newly printed; and in order to print it the public journals were stopped, as there are neither types nor workmen enough, — though I believe the chief deficiency is in the latter, — to print gazettes and a constitution at once.

The constitution is divided into eight sections; and these into chapters and articles, as the subject requires. It begins by asserting the freedom and independence of Chile as a nation, and with defining the limits of the territory, fixing Cape Horn as its southern point, and the desert of Atacama as its northern boundary; while the Andes to the east, and the ocean to the west, form its natural limits. It claims besides, the islands of the archipelago of Chiloe, those of Mocha, of Juan Fernandez, and Saint Mary. The second chapter of the first section concerns those who may be called Chilenos: 1st, those born in the country; 2d, those born of Chilian parents out of it; 3d, foreigners married to natives after three years' residence; 4th, foreigners employing a capital of not less than 2000 dollars who shall reside for five years. All Chilenos are equal in the eye of the law; all employments are open to them; they must all contribute their proportion to the maintenance of the state.

The second section declares the religion of the state to be the Catholic Apostolic Roman, to the exclusion of all others; and that all the inhabitants must respect it, whatever be their private opinions.

The third section declares the government to be representative, and that the legislative power resides in the Congress, the executive in the Director, and the judicial in the proper tribunals. All are citizens who, being Chilenos, are of twenty-five years of age, or who are married; and, after the year 1833, they must be able to read and write. Persons shall lose their right of citizenship who, 1st, are naturalised in other countries; 2d, accept employment from any other government; 3d, are under any legal sentence not reversed; 4th, remain absent from Chile, without leave, more than five years. These rights are suspended, 1st, in case of interdiction, or of moral or physical incapacity; 2d, insolvents; 3d, defaulters to the public

funds; 4th, hired servants; 5th, those who have no ostensible means of livelihood; 6th, during a criminal process.

The fourth section contains sixty-two articles, and concerns the powers and divisions of the Congress, which is to consist of two chambers,—the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate, or court of representatives, is to consist of seven individuals, chosen by ballot by the deputies; four of whom, at least, must be of their own body; and the ex-directors, the ministers of state, the bishops having jurisdiction within the state, or, failing them, the head of the church for the time being; one minister of the supreme tribunal of justice; of three military chiefs, to be named by the Director; of the directorial delegate of the department where the Congress sits; of a doctor from each university; and of two merchants, and of two landed proprietors, whose capital shall not be less than 30,000 dollars. These to be named by the deputies. The members will thus not be less than twenty, the president being the oldest ex-director. This senate is to sit as long as the term of the Director's power, *i. e.* six years; and if he be re-elected, it may continue to sit.

The Chamber of Deputies is annual, the elections being made by lists, allowing one deputy for about 15,000 souls. All citizens above twelve years old are eligible as electors, and such military men as do not command troops of the line; as deputies, such as, besides the above qualifications, have landed property to the amount of 2000 dollars, or are natives of the department where they are elected. The Congress is to meet for three months every year, on the 18th of September; and an oath is required from the deputies, to be taken before the Director and Senate, in the following form:—"Do you "swear by God and your honour to proceed faithfully in the dis- "charge of your august functions, dictating such laws as shall best "conduce to the good of the nation, political and civil liberty, private "safety and that of individual property, and to the other ends for "which you are assembled, as set forth in our constitution?"—"Yes, "I swear."—"If you do this, God enlighten and defend you; if not, "you must answer to God and the nation."

The fifth section of the constitution contains sixty-one articles. It

concerns the executive power; and first, the Director, who is declared to be elective, and that the office is incapable of becoming hereditary. The direction is to last six years, and the Director may be re-elected once for four more. He must be a native of Chile, and have resided in it the five years immediately preceding his election. He must be above twenty-five years of age, and he must be elected by both Chambers of the Congress, by ballot. Two-thirds of the votes shall suffice to elect a Director. The election made by the Convention this year of the present Director shall be considered as the first.

In case of the death of the Director while the Congress is not sitting, the Director shall, on the 12th of February, the 5th of April, and the 18th of September, deposit in a box, with three several keys, to be kept by several persons, a paper sealed and signed, containing the names of the Regency who are to take charge of the government, until his successor be appointed in Congress. As the Senate is permanent, it will co-operate with the Regency in calling together the Deputies, as an extraordinary meeting of Congress, which shall separate as soon as the business of the election is over.

The Director is declared head of the army and navy. He has full powers to treat with foreign nations, and to make peace and war. Together with the Senate, he is to present to the bishoprics, and all other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices. He has the command of the treasury. He is to appoint ambassadors, to name the ministers, and secretaries of state, and to name also the judges of circuits. He may pardon or commute punishments.

After setting forth these powers and privileges, there are a few articles that look like restrictions; but as I see no means of enforcing them, they act rather as the fear of punishment in another world does on too many sinners here, than as real limitations to absolute authority.

There are three ministers of state. 1. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs; — 2. Of the Home Department; — 3. Of War and Marine. If the Director pleases he may give two of these offices to one person. These ministers lie under a limited responsibility, *i. e.* no responsibility at all.

The sixth section of the constitution relates to the internal government of the state. The ancient *Intendencias* are abolished, and the country is divided into departments and districts. In each department there shall be a delegate commanding its civil and military affairs, and these are to be named by the Director and Congress. To these delegates all the superintendence of the courts of justice, the custom-houses, and duties, &c. is confided. And they are to preside in the cabildos or town councils, which in other respects are to remain on the old footing. No member of a cabildo may be arrested without the express permission of the Director.

The seventh section concerns the judical powers. They reside in the usual tribunals. There is a supreme court of five judges, without whose sanction no execution can take place. This court serves also as a court of appeal. It is entitled to examine and recommend to the executive to amend the laws. The members to visit the prison each week in turn: they are to sit as council for the Director and Senate on points of law, &c. &c. All emoluments beyond their actual pay are forbidden.

There is also a Chamber of Appeal composed of five members. But all these things in all their parts are so complicated and tiresome, not fitted for the country because they are the laws of Spain, Moorish, Gothic, Latin, all mixed, and then local customs, in short, 72,000 laws, where there are not twice the number of people who can read, that I cannot go through with them. The only sensible paragraph in this part of the constitution is the declaration that no inquisitorial institution shall ever be established in Chile.

A little section follows on public education which is very well, and shows the intention of establishing many schools and encouraging a national institute.

The section concerning the army, and militia, and navy, only places them all at the disposal of the Director.

And the last section concerns the observance and promulgation of the constitution, and the signatures of the Convention and Director.

November 1st. — My invalid is now so much better, that we have been riding out upon the hills, and getting acquainted with new

paths and new flowers. Poor fellow! he seems more delighted at his renewed liberty even than I am at mine. The charm of a recovered health has been so often felt that one wonders it should delight again; but

" Sans doute que le Dieu qui nous rend l'existence,
A l'heureuse convalescence,
Pour de nouveaux plaisirs donne de nouveaux sens;
A ses regards impatiens,
Le cahos fuit; tout nait, la lumiere commence;
Tout brille des feux du printemps;
Les plus simples objets, le chant d'une fauvette,
Le matin d'un beau jour, la verdure des bois,
La fraicheur d'une violette,
Mille spectacles, qu'autrefois
On voyoit avec nonchalance
Transportent aujourd'hui, presentent des apas
Inconnus a l'indifference,
Et que la foule ne voit pas."

I cannot doubt that these beautiful lines of Gresset were in Grey's mind, when he wrote his ode on recovering from sickness: the feelings are native in every heart, however, and one wants only the power of poetical expression to clothe them in verse. But independent of all this, the neighbourhood of Valparaiso is peculiarly beautiful at this time. The shrubs have all been refreshed by the rains; the ground is covered with a profusion of flowers; the fruit is just ripening; and the climate, always agreeable, is now, in this spring-time, delicious. No poet ever feigned for his Tempe a more charming sky than that of Chile; and there is a sweetness and softness in the air that soothes the spirits and doubles every other pleasure.

2d. — We have had a great many visitors, and of course some news, the most interesting of which is, that the government is in earnest in its intentions to pay the squadron. One half of the payments will, it is said, be made in money, the other half in bills upon the custom-house. Lord Cochrane arrived from the city last night, and is pitching tents by the sea-shore beyond the fort for himself, because he does not choose to accept a house from government, in

the way these things are managed here. He has of course a claim to the accommodation of a dwelling on shore; and an order was sent to the governor of Valparaiso to provide one. The governor consequently pitched upon one of the most commodious in the port, and sent an order to Mr. C——, an Englishman, to remove with his family, and to leave it furnished for the Admiral, such being the old Spanish custom. But His Lordship would by no means allow Mr. C. to move, and has accordingly pitched a tent. His friends are a little anxious about this step. No Chileno would lift his hand against him; but there are persons now in Chile who hate him, and who have both attempted and committed assassination.

Sunday, November 3d. — This evening, at about nine o'clock, the Director came quietly to the port. It is said he is come to see the squadron paid. Some assert that he is come in order not immediately to meet San Martin, who, having bathed at Cauquenes, is about to move into the city, and is to take up his residence in the directorial palace, only, however, as a private visitor.* He is to have a double guard: but if he is, as it is said, so beloved, why should he fear? I suspect that, like other opium-eaters, he is become nervous.

I trust, for the honour of human nature, that an opinion which I have heard concerning the Director's appearance in the port, is unfounded: it is, that he is come hither in order to seize an opportunity of getting possession of Lord Cochrane's person, that is, to sacrifice him to the revenge of San Martin in compliance with the entreaties forwarded from Peru, by the agents Paroissien and Del Rio.

November 7th. — We have been riding about for several days, and making acquaintance among the neighbouring farmers: every where we are invited to alight and take milk, or at least to rest, and walk in the gardens and gather flowers. It is quite refreshing to see the gentle and frank manners of the peasants of the country, after all the bustle and petty intrigue of the port and its in-dwellers. To-day,

* If I were first magistrate of a country, however, I should not choose to accustom the people to see another in my place.

however, I have spent very agreeably to myself, chiefly at the Admiral's tents; but that is far enough from the town not to hear its noise. Having lodged Glennie at the tents, I returned to the town and called on the Director, who is living in the government-house; and Zenteno and his family are gone to another. His Excellency looks very well, and received me as courteously as I could wish; and, according to the custom of the country, as soon as I was seated presented me with a flower. I know not how it happened, but the discourse turned on nunneries, and I mentioned the Philippine nuns in Rome; on which he begged to have a particular notice of them and their rule, in order to better the condition, if possible, of the nuns of Chile, and especially of such as superintend the education of young girls. This I promised; and as soon as I came home, sent him such notices as I had, with references to the ecclesiastical histories I suppose he can command in the public library. I little thought, when visiting in the parlour of that convent, which was once Cæsar Borgia's palace, and looking over the ruins of Rome from its galleries, painted by Domenichino, I think, that that visit might become of consequence to the forlorn recluses of Chile!

Having paid my visits, I returned to the tents, and found that my patient had been sleeping quietly. Lord Cochrane, much interested in him, kindly pressed me to take him for change of air to Quintero, which I am most willing to do; and as soon as he is strong enough, I mean to go. The Admiral himself does not look very well, but that is not marvellous; the squadron is still unpaid. The charges preferred against him by San Martin, though never credited by the government, which possesses abundant documents in its own hands to refute them, have remained uncontradicted by him, at the request of that government, in order to avoid exciting party spirit, or a quarrel, perhaps a war, between Peru and Chile. But now that all danger of that kind is over, and as San Martin is honoured by having the palace itself appointed for his residence, and receives every mark of public attention, as if on purpose to insult Lord Cochrane, those charges should and will be answered; and answered too with facts and dates which will completely overwhelm all the accusations, direct and in-

direct, that were ever drawn up or insinuated against him. There are other causes too why those now in high station in Chile should be anxious: there are reports and whispers from the north and from the south, of discontents of various kinds. The brothers and kindred of the dead, and of the exiled, have not forgotten them; and to see the man whom they consider as the author of their misfortunes received and honoured, irritates them. With every respect for the personal character of the Director, they see him as the friend and ally of San Martin, and the supporter of Rodriguez and his comrades; and I can hear that sort of covert voice of discontent that precedes civil strife. The government of Santiago throws all the blame of this discontent on the squadron, and has sent a few troops here, it is said, to intimidate it: but the number is so small, that it would scarcely suffice to guard the Director, or to secure a state prisoner; to which latter purpose those who best know the dispositions of the government believe them to be destined. The Admiral is undoubtedly the person who would be seized, if the partisans of San Martin dared commit so great an outrage; nor would they stop there. San Martin's victims never survive his grasp. I am grieved that the Director should lend himself to such a purpose. The people in the port seeming not to dare to speak, say in fact every thing; and I was glad to take refuge from hearing disagreeable things at the tents, where, at least, we are secure from hearing of the politics of Chile.

12*th.* — I may say, with the North Americans, every thing is *progressing;* Glennie is much better; the discontents are spreading. The squadron is in a way to be paid, though, perhaps, too late; but when the money came down, they forgot to send stamped paper to make out tickets, &c.; so the officers and sailors must wait till proper paper can be stamped, and sent from Santiago for the purpose. I have received a letter from the Director in answer to mine about the nuns. The reglamento is producing all manner of confusion; Lord Cochrane is proceeding with his refutation of San Martin; and I have seen him, and fixed on a time for being at Quintero. The only thing that is not progressing is the repairing the ships. I understand that Mr. Olver, a most ingenious artificer, has made the estimates, and undertaken

the execution: but it is doubtful if the government, which, like some others, is sometimes penny-wise and pound-foolish, will think it expedient to part with the necessary sums to put its ships in order. Yet if it do not, the coasts must be left defenceless, or new ships bought at an exorbitant price.

I have been looking back at my journal of the last six weeks, and it struck me as I read it that it is something like a picture gallery; where you have historical pieces, and portraits, and landscapes, and still life, and flowers, side by side. Every other thing written pretends to be a whole in itself, and to be either history, or landscape, or portrait; and generally the author finishes it for a cabinet picture. But my poor journal, written in a new country and in a time of agitation, to say the least of it, can pretend to no unity of design; for can I foresee what will happen to-morrow? And, as my heroes and heroines (by-the-bye, I have but a scanty proportion of the latter,) are all independent personages, I cannot, like a novel-writer, compel them to figure in my pages to please me, but they govern themselves; and that, where to write a journal is only a kind of substitute for reading the new books of the day, which I should assuredly do at home, is perhaps as well: the uncertainty of the end keeps up the interest.

November 14th, Concon. — This morning we set off early from home, and at eleven o'clock arrived at Viña a la Mar, the hacienda of the Carreras. The family has suffered much during the revolution, the head of it being cousin-german to Jose Miguel Carrera. Some of the sons met an untimely death; one of them is now an exile in the service of Artigas: three daughters only, out of nine, are married; the rest are living with their parents at Viña a la Mar. It is a noble property: the little stream Margamarga flows through it to the sea, forming a valley exceedingly fertile; and at the village, whence the stream takes its name, the best dairies in the district are situated. The house of the hacienda is placed nearly in the middle of a little plain formed of the alluvial soil washed down from the surrounding mountains, which rise behind it like an amphitheatre. A few fields and some very fine garden ground, cultivated by a Frenchman, Pharoux, occupy the space between it and the sea. Behind it lies the extensive vineyard, which is gradually making way for corn, which is both more successful and more profitable than wine here.

We were received most hospitably by Madame Carrera, who was sitting on a very low sofa at the end of the estrada, on which some of her grand-children were at play, while her daughters sat round on chairs and stools. Refreshments were offered instantly, and warm milk with sugar and a little grated cinnamon was brought in and presented, with slices of bread. The invalid was then taken into a pleasant cool room to rest; and while he slept, the young ladies showed Mr. Davidson, who had escorted us from the port, and myself, the garden, orchard, and farm offices, which differed little from those I had seen before, except that they were much out of repair. But as the nature of the farm is changing from a wine to a corn farm, all the vats and the alembics for brandy, &c. are becoming useless, and will be replaced by granaries. The dinner was a mixture of Chileno and English customs and cookery; the children and the grandmother being most Chilian, the young ladies most English. After a reasonable time after dinner, we rode on to Concon, and were met about half way by Mr., Mrs., and Miss Miers. It was one of the

loveliest evenings of this lovely climate, and I felt more than commonly exhilarated and disposed to enjoy it, not having been so far on horseback since my disastrous ride from San Francisco de Monte to Santiago.

15*th.*—Rode to the mouth of the river; part of the water of which is lost in the sand accumulated there, part is kept back on the land, and produces a marshy lake; but there is enough left to form a considerable stream at the regular outlet. I was grieved to see a great quantity of very fine machinery, adapted for rolling copper, lying on the shore, where Mr. Miers had thrown out a little pier. This machinery has been regarded with jealousy by certain members of the government, because some part of it may be used for coining; and yet that jealousy will not, I fear, prompt the state to buy it, and thereby reform their own clumsy proceedings at the mint. However, here lie wheels, and screws, and levers, waiting till more favourable circumstances shall enable Mr. Miers to proceed with his farther plans. But time, his becoming a citizen with some landed property, and the circumstances of his children being born here, will, I trust, do every thing for him.

The hills here have no longer the same character as about Valparaiso: there, a reddish clay, with veins of granite and white quartz, form the greater part, if not the whole mass; here they consist of a greyish or blackish sand, with layers of pebbles and shells visible at different heights by the sea-side. The plain on either side of the river is rich deep soil, with all sorts of things in it that a large river swelling and passing its bounds twice a year may be supposed to deposit. The first inundation, for it is little less, is during the rains; the second on the melting of the snows of the Andes: it is said also to rise in misty weather; but this place is so close to the mountains, that it must feel the daily changes of weather in the cordillera; and, indeed, I believe there is always less water in the morning than in the evening, owing, of course, to the melting of snow in the day time.

17*th.*—We rode to Quintero, stopping to rest at the old house on

the lake. As this is a cattle estate, it is not populous in proportion to its extent; but still every valley has its little homestead or two, around which, at the latter end of the rains, and while the cattle are in the mountains, the peasants form their little *chacra*, or cultivated spot, for pease, gourds, melons, onions, potatoes, French beans, (which, dried, as *frixole*, forms a main article of their food,) and other vegetables. This little harvest must all be gathered in before the season for the return of the cattle to the plain, as the landlord has then a right to turn in the beasts to every field; and this is often a great hardship, because the peasants are bound to duty-work perhaps six, eight, ten, twelve, or more days in the year, at the will of the landlord as to season. Now, it often happens that he employs his people to clear his own *chacra* just at the moment when theirs is ready to be cleared; and the time passes, and the poor man's food is trodden down by the oxen: here on this estate, while the present master is in the country, such things cannot happen; but the legal right exists, and a hard master or overseer may exercise it. Under Lord Cochrane, the peasantry have found an unwonted freedom which they are so totally unused to, from motives of humane consideration, that they have taken it for carelessness, and have abused it; but better so, than that they should be oppressed! Each settler pays a few reals as ground-rent; two dollars, on some estates more, for pasture for every horse, mule, ox, or cow, and double for every hundred sheep. The tenants of Quintero, taking advantage of the owner's long absence, and the carelessness or dishonesty of the overseer, have increased their private flocks and cattle beyond what the estate will bear, without account or payment, and thus materially injured it.

We found Mr. Bennet, Lord Cochrane's Spanish secretary, and my friend Carrillo, the painter, ready to receive us. The former is a remarkable person, on account of his long residence and singular adventures in South America. *Il narre bien*, and I suspect better in Spanish than in English; but there is something not unpleasant in the broad Lincolnshire dialect which gives an air of originality to his thoughts, as well as his stories. He affects a singularity of dress:

sometimes a loose shirt and looser trousers, nankeen slippers, a black fur cap, and a sash, form the whole of his habiliments; at other times, wide cossack trousers, a blue jacket, real gold buttons, a small pair of epaulettes, and a military cap, and the sash tight round his waist, adorn him; — rarely does he condescend to wear a neck-cloth, even when the rest of his dress is in conformity with common usage; but when in full costume, his thin pale personage, and eye with an outward cast in it, are set off by a full suit of black, with shiny silk breeches that look like CONSTITUTIONAL CALAMANCO (v. *Rejected Addresses*), enormous bunches of ribbon at the knees, and buckles in his shoes. I never could help laughing when I saw him in this stiff dress, forming so complete a contrast with the description he gives of his costume while, during the early period of the revolution, he was governor at Esmeraldas; an honour which, I can well believe, was forced on him. Then, his body was painted, his head adorned with feathers, and his clothing as light as that of any wild Indian.

He was dressed now in middle costume, to do the honours of Quintero; and most politely he did them to Mrs. Miers and me, and most kindly to Glennie. After dinner we engaged him to tell us various parts of his adventures; and were vulgar enough to prefer his account of the earthquake he experienced at the Baranca, when the dismayed inhabitants fled to the hills, and expected every moment to see their ruined town swallowed up, as Callao had been in 1747.* After the earthquake, he told us of his visits to tremendous volcanoes, and said, that he had himself descended lower into the crater of

* The destruction of Callao was the most perfect and terrible that can be conceived: no more than one of all the inhabitants escaping, and he by a providence the most singular and extraordinary imaginable. This man was on the fort that overlooked the harbour, going to strike the flag, when he perceived the sea to retire to a considerable distance; and then, swelling mountains high, it returned with great violence. The inhabitants ran from their houses in great terror and confusion; he heard a cry of *miserere* rise from all parts of the city, and immediately all was silent. The sea had entirely overwhelmed this city, and buried it for ever in his bosom; but the same wave which had destroyed this city drove a little boat by the place where the man stood, into which he threw himself and was saved.

Burke's Account of the European Settlers in America.

Pinchincha than where Humboldt had left his mark. I enquired of him, whether the people in any of the countries he has lived in had an idea that earthquakes could be considered as periodical, and whether the few instances in which they had occurred twice at regular intervals were thought to promise farther coincidences; mentioning, that in that case we wanted but a year or two at most of the return of the severe earthquake of this part of Chile. But I could not learn that any Indian superstition or tradition pointed that way, any more than the speculations of European natural philosophers; and, indeed, twice within these five years, Coquimbo and Copiapo, hitherto described as never touched by these calamities, have been utterly destroyed, and have thus contradicted some theories about situations, soils, &c.*

18*th*.—We tried to persuade Mrs. Miers to remain with us, but in vain. She was anxious to return to her children, and accordingly left us in time to get home by daylight. I made a little sketch of the house; and having found a lithographic press here, I mean to draw it on stone, and so produce the first print of any kind that has been done in Chile; or, I believe, on this side of South America.

* This conversation may appear to be imagined *after* the event; but it was not so. Our company consisted of Mr. Bennet, Mrs. Miers, Mr. Glennie, and myself; and many a time afterwards did we recall this evening's discourse.

November 20th.—Yesterday, after dinner, Glennie having fallen into a sound sleep in his arm-chair by the fire side, Mr. Bennet and I, attracted by the fineness of the evening, took our seats to the veranda overlooking the bay; and, for the first time since my arrival in Chile, I saw it lighten. The lightning continued to play uninterruptedly over the Andes until after dark, when a delightful and calm moonlight night followed a quiet and moderately warm day. We returned reluctantly to the house on account of the invalid, and were sitting quietly conversing, when, at a quarter past ten, the house received a violent shock, with a noise like the explosion of a mine; and Mr. Bennet starting up, ran out, exclaiming, "An earthquake, an earthquake! for God's sake follow me!" I, feeling more for Glennie than any thing, and fearing the night air for him, sat still: he, looking at me to see what I would do, did the same; until, the vibration still increasing, the chimneys fell, and I saw the walls of the house open. Mr. Bennet again cried from without, "For God's sake, come away from the house!" So we rose and went to the veranda, meaning, of course, to go by the steps; but the vibration increased with such violence, that hearing the fall of a wall behind us, we jumped down from the little platform to the ground; and were scarcely there, when the motion of the earth changed from a quick vibration to a rolling like that of a ship at sea, so that it was with difficulty that Mr. Bennet and I supported Glennie. The shock lasted three minutes; and, by the time it was over, every body in and about the house had collected on the lawn, excepting two persons; one the wife of a mason, who was shut up in a small room which she could not open; the other Carillo, who, in escaping from his room by the wall which fell, was buried in the ruins, but happily preserved by the lintel falling across him.

Never shall I forget the horrible sensation of that night. In all other convulsions of nature we feel or fancy that some exertion may be made to avert or mitigate danger; but from an earthquake there is neither shelter nor escape: the "mad disquietude" that agitates every heart, and looks out in every eye, seems to me as awful as the

last judgment can be; and I regret that my anxiety for my patient overcoming other feelings, I had not my due portion of that sublime terror: but I looked round and I saw it. Amid the noise of the destruction before and around us, I heard the lowings of the cattle all the night through; and I heard too the screaming of the sea-fowl, which ceased not till morning. There was not a breath of air; yet the trees were so agitated, that their topmost branches seemed on the point of touching the ground. It was some time ere our spirits recovered so as to ask each other what was to be done; but we placed Glennie, who had had a severe hemorrhage from the lungs instantly, under a tree in an arm-chair. I stood by him while Mr. B. entered the house and procured spirits and water, of which we all took a little; and a tent was then pitched for the sick man, and we fetched out a sofa and blankets for him. Then I got a man to hold a light, and venture with me to the inner rooms to fetch medicine. A second and a third shock had by this time taken place, but so much less violent than the first, that we had reasonable hopes that the worst was over; and we proceeded through the ruined sitting-rooms to cross the court where the wall had fallen, and as we reached the top of the ruins, another smart shock seemed to roll them from under our feet. At length we reached the first door of the sleeping apartments; and on entering I saw the furniture displaced from the walls, but paid little attention to it. In the second room, however, the disorder, or rather the displacing, was more striking; and then it seemed to me that there was a regularity in the disposal of every thing: this was still more apparent in my own room; and after having got the medicines and bedding I went for, I observed the furniture in the different rooms, and found that it had all been moved in the same direction. This morning I took in my compass, and found that direction to be north-west and south-east. The night still continued serene; and though the moon went down early, the sky was light, and there was a faint aurora australis. Having made Glennie lie down in the tent, I put my mattress on the ground by him. Mr. Bennet, and the overseer, and the workmen,

lay down with such bedding as they could get round the tent. It was now twelve o'clock: the earth was still at unrest; and shocks, accompanied by noises like the explosion of gunpowder, or rather like those accompanying the jets of fire from a volcano, returned every two minutes. I lay with my watch in my hand counting them for forty-five minutes; and then, wearied out, I fell asleep: but a little before two o'clock a loud explosion and tremendous shock roused every one; and a horse and a pig broke loose, and came to take refuge among us. At four o'clock there was another violent shock; and the interval had been filled with a constant trembling, with now and then a sort of cross-motion, the general direction of the undulations being north and south. At a quarter past six o'clock there was another shock, which at another time would have been felt severely; since that hour, though there has been a continued series of agitations, such as to shake and even spill water from a glass, and though the ground is still trembling under me, there has been nothing to alarm us. *I write at four o'clock* P.M.—At daylight I went out of the tent to look at the earth. The dew was on the grass, and all looked as beautiful as if the night's agitation had not taken place; but here and there cracks of various sizes appeared in various parts of the hill. At the roots of the trees, and the bases of the posts supporting the veranda, the earth appeared separate, so that I could put my hand in; and had the appearance of earth where the gardener's dibble had been used. By seven o'clock persons from various quarters had arrived, either to enquire after our fate, or communicate their own. From Valle Alegri, a village on the estate, we hear that many, even of the peasants' houses, are damaged, and some destroyed. In various places in the middle of the gardens, the earth has cracked, and water and sand have been forced up through the surface; some banks have fallen in, and the water-courses are much injured.

Mr. Cruikshank has ridden over from old Quintero: he tells us that great fissures are made on the banks of the lake; the house is not habitable; some of its inmates were thrown down by the shock,

and others by the falling of various articles of furniture upon them. At Concon the whole house is unroofed, the walls cracked, the iron supporters broken, the mill a ruin, and the banks of the mill-stream fallen in. The alluvial soil on each side of the river looks like a sponge, it is so cracked and shaken: there are large rents along the sea-shore; and during the night the sea seems to have receded in an extraordinary manner, and especially in Quintero bay. I see from the hill, rocks above water that never were exposed before; and the wreck of the Aquila appears from this distance to be approachable dry-shod, though till to-day that was not the case in the lowest tides.

Half past eight P. M. — We hear reports that the large and populous town of Quillota, is a heap of ruins, and that Valparaiso is little better. If so, the destruction there must have reached to the inhabitants as well as the houses, — God forbid it should be so! At a quarter before six another very serious shock, and one this moment. Slight shocks occur every fifteen or twenty minutes. The evening is as fine as possible; the moon is up, and shines beautifully over the lake and the bay: the stars and aurora australis are also brilliant, and a soft southerly breeze has been blowing since daylight. We have erected a large rancho with bamboo from Guayaquil and reeds from the lake, so that we can eat and sleep under cover. Glennie and I keep the tent; the rest sleep in the rancho.

Thursday, November 21st. — At half past two A. M. I was awoke, by a severe shock. At ten minutes before three a tremendous one, which made us feel anew that utter helplessness which is so appalling. At a quarter before eight, another not so severe; a quarter past nine, another. At half past ten and a quarter past one, they were repeated; one at twenty minutes before two with very loud noise, lasting a minute and a half; and the last remarkable one to-day at a quarter past ten. These were all that were in any degree alarming, but slight shocks occurred every twenty or thirty minutes.

Mr. M—— is returned from the port. Lord Cochrane was on board the O'Higgins at the time of the first great shock, and went on shore instantly to the Director; for whom he got a tent pitched

on the hill behind the town.* His Lordship writes me that my cottage is still standing, though every thing round is in ruins. Mr. M. says, that there is not a house standing whole in the Almendral. The church of the Merced is quite destroyed. Not one house in the port remains habitable, though many retain their forms. There is not a living creature to be seen in the streets; but the hills are covered with wretches driven from their homes, and whose mutual fears keep up mutual distraction. The ships in the harbour are crowded with people; no provisions are to be had; the ovens are ruined, and the bakers cannot work. Five English persons were killed, and they were digging out some of the natives; but the loss of life has not been so great as might have been feared. Had the catastrophe happened later, when the people had retired to bed, the destruction must have been very dreadful. We hear that Casa Blanca is totally ruined.

Friday, November 22d. — Three severe shocks at a quarter past four, at half past seven, and at nine o'clock. After that there were three loud explosions, with slight trembling between; then a severe shock at eleven; two or three very slight before one o'clock; and then we had a respite until seven P. M., when there was a slight shock.

As we are thirty miles from the port, and ninety from the city, the reports come to us but slowly. To-day, however, we learn that Santiago is less damaged than we expected. The mint has suffered seriously; part of the directorial palace has fallen; the houses and churches are in some instances cracked through: but no serious damage is done, excepting the breaking down the canals for irrigation in some places. A gentleman from Valparaiso describes the sensation experienced on board the ships as being as if they had suddenly

* Don Bernardo O'Higgins, the Director, whose business at Valparaiso was of a nature decidedly hostile to Lord Cochrane, narrowly escaped with his life in hurrying out of the government house. He received on that terrific night protection and attention from the Admiral, which I hope for the honour of human nature caused him at this time to suspend his hostile intentions: But I fear that his temporary retirement from the government on reaching Santiago, was only to leave others at liberty to do as they pleased,

got under weigh and gone along with violence, striking on rocks as they went. Last night, the priests had prophesied a more severe shock than the first. No one went to bed: all that could huddle themselves and goods on board any vessel did so; and the hills were covered with groups of houseless creatures, sitting round the fires in awful expectation of a mighty visitation. On the night of the nineteenth, during the first great shock, the sea in Valparaiso bay rose suddenly, and as suddenly retired in an extraordinary manner, and in about a quarter of an hour seemed to recover its equilibrium; but the whole shore is more exposed, and the rocks are four feet higher out of the water than before.

Such are our reports from a distance. Nearer home we have had the same prophecy, concerning a greater shock with an inundation to be expected; and the peasants consequently abandoned their dwellings, and fled to the hills. The shock did not arrive, and that it did not has been attributed to the interposition of Our Lady of Quintero. This same Lady of Quintero has a chapel at the old house, and her image there has long been an object of peculiar veneration. Thither, on the first dreadful night, flocked all the women of the neighbourhood, and with shrieks and cries entreated her to come to their assistance; tearing their hair, and calling her by all the endearing names which the church of Rome permits to the objects of its worship. She came not forth, however; and in the morning, when the priests were able to force the doors obstructed by the fallen rubbish, they found her prostrate, with her head off, and several fingers broken. It was not long, however, before she was restored to her pristine state, dressed in clean clothes, and placed in the attitude of benediction before the door of her shattered fane.

We had a thick fog to-day, and a cold drizzling rain all the morning till noon; when it cleared up, and became still and warm. During many of the shocks, I observed wine or water on the table was not agitated by a regular tremulous motion, but appeared suddenly thrown up in heaps. On the surface of the water, in one large decanter, I observed three such heaps form and suddenly subside, as if dashing against the

sides. Mercury, in a decanter, was affected in the same manner. We had no barometer with us, nor could I learn that any observations had been made.

Saturday, 23d. — The shocks diminished in frequency and force during the night and the early part of the day, only one having been felt before four P. M.; when there were four between that and this hour, ten o'clock. The weather has been cloudy but pleasant to-day.

More reports from the neighbourhood. The fishermen all along the coast assert, that on the night of the 19th they saw a light far out at sea, which was stationary for some time; then advanced towards the land, and, dividing into two, disappeared. The priests have converted this into the Virgin with lights to save the country.

A Beata *saint* at Santiago foretold the calamity the day before; the people prayed, and the city suffered little. A propio was despatched to Valparaiso, who arrived too late, although he killed three horses under him, to put the people on their guard.

Since the 19th the young women of Santiago, dressed in white, bare-footed, and bare-headed, with their hair unbraided, and bearing black crucifixes, have been going about the streets singing hymns and litanies, in procession, with all the religious orders at their head. At first, the churches were crowded, and the bells tolled the distress incessantly, till the government, aware that many of the belfries and some of the churches were cracked, shut them up, lest they should fall on the heads of the people; so that now they perform their acts of devotion in the streets, and each family devotes its daughters to the holy office.

At length we have an account of the catastrophe as it affected Quillota from Don Fausto del Hoyo, Lord Cochrane's prisoner. Don Fausto's head-quarters, now he is a prisoner at large, have been generally at that place, though he is equally at home at Quintero. He always speaks of Lord Cochrane as EL TIO (*uncle*), a term of endearment used by soldiers to their chief, by children to their older friends. He is a shrewd man, but not clever, — unconquerably

attached to his country, Old Spain, and firmly resolved to have nothing more to do with war. He was with Romana in the north of Germany and Denmark; embarked with him in the Victory, followed his fortunes, and at length came to Chile with the expedition, when the Maria Isabella, now the O'Higgins, came out, and he himself was taken prisoner at Valdivia.

Don Fausto then reports from Quillota, that he and some friends were in the plaça, mixing with the people in the festivities of the eve of the octave of San Martin, the tutelar saint of Quillota.* The market-place was filled with booths and bowers of myrtle and roses; under which feasting and revelry, dancing, fiddling, and masking, were going on, and the whole was a scene of gay dissipation, or rather dissoluteness. The earthquake came, — in an instant all was changed. Instead of the sounds of the viol and the song, there arose a cry of "Misericordia! Misericordia!" and a beating of the breast, and a prostration of the body; and the thorns were plaited into crowns, which the sufferers pressed on their heads till the blood streamed down their faces, the roses being now trampled underfoot. Some ran to their falling houses, to snatch thence children forgotten in the moments of festivity, but dear in danger. The priests wrung their hands over their fallen altars, and the chiefs of the people fled to the hills. Such was the night of the nineteenth at Quillota.

The morning of the 20th exhibited a scene of greater distress. Only twenty houses and one church remained standing of that large town. All the ovens had been destroyed, and there was no bread: the governor had fled, and the people cried out that his sins had brought down the judgment. Some went so far as to accuse the government at Santiago, and to say its tyranny had awakened God's

* Don Fausto calls it San Martin de Tours; if so, it was the octave, not the eve, because St. Martin of Tours has his festivals on the 4th July, 13th December, and 11th of November: the last is the principal festival; therefore the octave would fall on the nineteenth. If it were the eve of the octave, then the saint must be the Pope Saint Martin, whose feast is held on the 12th November.

vengeance. Meantime the deputy-governor, Mr. Fawkner, an Englishman by birth, assembled the principal persons to take measures for relieving the sufferers; among the rest, came Don —— Dueñas, a man of good family, married to one of the Carreras of Viña a la Mar, and proprietor of the hacienda of San Pedro. He had been in his house with his wife and child: he could not save both at once; he preferred his wife; and while he was bearing her out, the roof fell, and his infant was crushed. His loss of property had been immense. This man then, with this load of domestic affliction, came to Fawkner, and told him he had ordered already four bullocks to be killed and distributed to the poor; and desired him, as governor, to remember, that though his losses had been severe, he was comparatively a rich man, and therefore able as he was willing to deal of his property to his neighbours and fellow-sufferers.

Sunday, 24th.— Our register of shocks to-day gives one at eight o'clock A. M.; and again at one, at three, at five, and at eleven, P. M. I was on horseback, and did not feel the first.

I had wished to go to the port on the 20th, but the river had swelled so much that the ford was unsafe until to-day, when I left Quintero at six o'clock. The loose banks and the edges of the water-courses are pretty generally cracked or broken down; there are cracks along the beach between the Herradura and Concon, but they have been nearly filled up by the loose sand falling in; some rocks and stones that the lowest tides never left dry, have now a passage between them and the low water-mark sufficient to ride round easily. As I approached the river, the cracks and rents in the alluvial soil almost assumed the appearance of chasms, and the earth appears to have sunk on the sides of the river, where, as in Valle Allegri, water and sand have been forced up through the rents. The water at the ford was uncomfortably high, but we passed safely; though a mule I had brought for baggage lost her footing, and was carried a little way down the stream before she could recover enough to swim to the opposite shore. My friends at Concon have suffered

a good deal: their house is unroofed; that is, on one side every tile is off, and a considerable part of those on the other side. The walls of the mill are quite destroyed; but the strong corner-posts have supported the roof, and the machinery is but little damaged. The sides of the mill-lead have fallen in; but the mill has gained by such an alteration in the bed of the river as has given the water several inches more fall than it had. —The night of the 19th was terrific here. The two children of Mr. Miers were in bed in rooms which had no communication with each other, and one of them none but from the outer veranda with any part of the house. Mr. Miers hurried his wife from the house, she shrieking for her children: he ran back for the youngest, — the showers of tiles prevented his approaching the place where the eldest was: there was a moment's pause, — he found the child asleep, and brought him out safe. The family spent that night without sleep, walking in front of their ruined home. In the morning they pitched a tent; and by the time I arrived there they had a *ramada*, or hut of branches. During the great shock the earth had rent literally under their feet, and they describe the sound along the valley as most fearful. The church of Concon is overthrown, and the estate-house nearly destroyed.

At Viña a la Mar I found the whole family established in a ramada at their outer gate-way; there nothing was standing but part of the front wall of the dwelling-house: the ruin had been complete; not a shelter remained for any living thing. The whole of the little plain is covered with small cones from one to four feet high, thrown up from below on the night of the 19th, and from which sand and water had been thrown out. I attempted to ride up towards one of them; but on approaching it, the horse began to sink as in a quick-sand; therefore I desisted, not choosing to pay too dearly for the gratification of my curiosity.

The road between Viña a la Mar and the port is very much injured by the falling of the rocks from above: in one place indeed it is rendered extremely unsafe; but the horses of Chile are so sure-

footed, that I had no apprehension but from the chance of a severe shock while passing the perilous place. At length I reached the heights of the port; and looking down, from thence, there appears little difference on the town, excepting the absence of the churches and higher buildings: from a distance, the ruins in the line of the streets fill the eye as well. As I approached nearer, the tents and huts of the wretched fugitives claimed my undivided attention; and there indeed I saw the calamity in a light it had not hitherto appeared in. Rich and poor, young and old, masters and servants, were huddled together in intimacy frightful even here, where the distinction of rank is by no means so broad as in Europe. I can quite understand, now, the effect of great general calamities in demoralising and loosening the ties of society. The historians of the middle ages tell of the pestilence that drove people forth from the cities to seek shelter in the fields from contagion, and returned them with a worse plague, in the utter corruption of morals into which they had fallen. Nor was "the plague in London" without its share of the moral scourge. "Sweet are the uses of adversity" to individuals and to educated men; but I fear that whatever cause makes large bodies of men very miserable, makes them also very wicked.

I rode on in no very cheerful temper to my own house, where I found some persons had taken refuge. It had suffered so little, that I think fourteen tiles off one corner was the extent of the damage; but the white-wash shaken off the walls, and the loosening of every thing about it, showed that the shock had been severe. I was in hopes, seeing the state of the ranchos of the peasants around, that my poor neighbours had likewise escaped. But poor Maria came to me evidently sick at heart. I asked for little Paul, her son, a fine boy of five years old; when she burst into tears. He was sleeping in the rancho on his little bed: she had been out at a neighbour's house. She ran home to seek her son: she entered her cottage,—he lay on his bed; but a rafter had been shaken from its place,—it had fallen on his

little head, and from the face alone she could not have told it was her own child. And then came another grief: they came to take the body and bury it; — she had not four dollars in the house; the priests, therefore, as she could not pay the fees, refused to bury it in consecrated ground: and "They have thrown my child into a pit "like a dog, where the horses and the mules will walk over him, "and where a Christian prayer will not reach him!" — All comment on this would be idle; as were my words of comfort to the sad mother. She only answered, "Ah, Señora! why were you not here?"

Seeing that my house was in a manner untouched, the priests resolved to make a miracle of it; and accordingly, by daylight on the 20th, *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* was found, in her satin gown, standing close to my stove, and received numerous offerings for having protected the premises, and I suppose carried off a silver pocket-compass and a smelling bottle, the only two things I missed.

Finding there was little to be done at home this afternoon, I rode on to the port as soon as I had taken some refreshment. The Almendral presents a sad spectacle: not a house remains habitable; all the roofs and walls of the land-side are ruined, those of the sea-side are seriously injured. The tower of the church is a heap of sand, and broken brick, and gilt and painted plaister, and all that is ugly and painful in a recent ruin: part of the roof still remains, suspended between some of the side buttresses, and its hideous saints and demons only make the devastation appear more horrible. The port itself is in some parts utterly destroyed, in others scarcely injured: here a fort with not a stone left on another; there a shop whose tiles have scarcely been loosened. The ruined and the unruined form alternate lines. It appears that where the veins of granite rock ran under the foundations, the buildings have stood tolerably well; but wherever any thing was erected on the sand or clay it has been damaged.

There was not a human being in the town; so I went on board the English merchant vessel Medway, where Captain White had shel-

tered my friends the Hogans, among many others, and there I was kindly invited to sleep. The reports I heard on arriving here once more awakened my attention to the affairs of Chile, which the more immediate feelings connected with the earthquake had made me, for the moment, lose sight of.

At length the government had resolved to pay the squadron; and the first plan, not uninfluenced, it is believed, by the counsels of San Martin, was to pay the men and petty officers before the officers; also to pay them ashore, the pay-office being provided either with leave-tickets for four months, or discharges to give them on demand, so as to have left the ships, the Admiral, and the officers in the harbour, without a man. This plan, of course, the Admiral would not suffer, and therefore the payments are making on board: the first took place on the very day of the earthquake; and I have been told that the confusion of the scene in the streets on that disastrous night, was increased by the number of sailors ashore on leave, and making merry with their friends on their newly-received pay. They receive bills of twenty-five dollars; four only of which they will get silver for, the rest they are compelled to expend in clothes at the shops set up for that purpose by Arcas in the port.

This day the Independencia, the only effective ship of the squadron, was despatched without the Admiral's leave, without even the formality of transmitting the orders through him! But Zenteno, as minister of marine, took upon himself to send her on a particular service. It is understood to be in pursuit of a vessel or vessels going to San Carlos of Chiloe with money and stores, which are to be intercepted.

Monday, 25th. — So severe a shock took place at a quarter past eight o'clock this morning, as to shake down a great deal of what had been spared on the night of the 19th. Two others occurred in the course of the forenoon, and two after seven at night. I have been busy all day packing my books, clothes, &c., to remove; because my house is let over my head to some persons who, seeing how well it

has stood, have bribed the landlord to let it to them.—*They are English!*

While I was thus busy, Lord Cochrane called, with Captain Crosbie. His Lordship most kindly, most humanely, desired me to remain at Quintero, with my poor invalid, and not to think of removing him or myself until more favourable times and circumstances; and told me he would soon go thither, and settle whereabouts I should shelter myself and Glennie till he should be well enough finally to remove.

Tuesday, 26th.—There were five shocks during this day: I must now omit many; because, unless they are very severe, I never awake in consequence of them during the night. While I was at my own house packing up, I was surprised to see my friend Mr. C. ride up: he had just arrived from Conception, a distance of 170 leagues, which he had ridden by by-ways in five days. He had passed through Talca and San Fernando; at both of which places, as well as Conception, the earthquake of the 19th had been felt, but not severely. Mr. H., who has just returned from the city, tells me that Casa Blanca and Melipilla are both a heap of ruins: Illapel is also destroyed, and all the village churches have suffered; nothing but the ranchos escape: they are built like hurdles, and though the mud shakes from the interstices, they are safe. Mr. C. has indeed, however, brought intelligence more important than any thing connected with the earthquake. The people of Conception, enraged at the unjust provisions of the reglamento, and at other oppressive measures, have burnt the same reglamento and the constitution in the market-place; have convoked an opposition convention; and have insisted on Freire's taking the field with the acknowledged purpose of turning out Rodriguez and the rest of the iniquitous administration. Freire has already marched, but as yet his motions cannot be known at Santiago; and of course I am tongue-tied as to the intelligence, till it comes from some public quarter: conjecture is free, however; and I cannot hep thinking that the object here has been to secure the squadron in Freire's interest. But that may not be: honour forbids it, I think; and the Chilian squadron

will not forget honour, while its present chief is even nominally its admiral.

Wednesday, 27th. — Several slight shocks to-day: a very severe one at ten o'clock A. M., and again at six P. M. My pleasant friend Mr. B. called to-day: he has announced his intended marriage with a lady of Chile, and the circumstances connected with it form rather an interesting point in the history of the progress of toleration in the country. In other marriages of the kind, the foreigners have generally changed their nominal religion for the sake of their brides, but my friend has more of the feelings of Richardson's days; and though I do not mean to say that he is full-dressed in bag and wig, like Sir Charles Grandison, at six o'clock in the morning, or to compare the lady with the incomparable Clementina, his conduct in the matter has been firm and right for himself, and wise for the country he has now adopted. In this conduct he has been supported by the Director, against all superstitious and party opposition. Neither wishing his intended wife to change her faith, nor willing to change his own, he applied to the Bishop for a licence and dispensation to marry; this the prelate positively refused, unless Mr. B. would enter into the bosom of the church. The government now interfered, representing to the Bishop that the present state of the world demanded less bigotry, and the advantage of the country required the greatest degree of liberality towards strangers. Still His Grace was inexorable; when he received notice, that until he were more tractable, certain tithes and emoluments which in the late commotions the church had lost should not be restored. And now, after granting his dispensation thus reluctantly, all he has gained is the framing a *concordat* by the government, which will curtail his revenues, and diminish his power. He is a bigoted ambitious man, holding, to appearance, with the present government by various ties, the most efficient of which is certainly the partnership of Arcas, who has married his niece, with Rodriguez, but having stronger connections with all those who oppose O'Higgins, whether as partisans of the unfortunate Carreras, or

merely as discontented men. The disputes on this marriage have been violent; but Mr. B.'s firmness and temper have brought them to a proper conclusion. Many compromises and irregular ways, to save appearances for the church, were proposed to him; but he wished, not only for his own sake, but in order to establish an important precedent, to have the matter publicly and legally settled.

I intended to have returned to Quintero to-day, the launch of the Lautaro having been obligingly lent to me for that purpose. But, contrary to all experience at this time of the year, a strong northerly wind set in, which totally prevented it; and at night a heavy torrent of rain fell, which has done great damage by injuring the goods left exposed by the falling of the houses, and which has rendered the miserable encampments on the hills thoroughly wretched. Yet the people are rejoicing at it; because they say that the rain will extinguish the fire that causes the earthquake, and we shall have no more.

28*th.* — Notwithstanding the rain, which lasted till midnight, we have experienced no less than five shocks to-day. Superstition has been busy during this calamitous period; thinking the moment, no doubt, favourable for regaining something of the ground she has been losing for some time past. This day was appointed for the execution of a Frenchman and three Chilenos, for having gotten on board of a ship in the harbour during the night, and after dangerously wounding the master and chief mate, plundering it of a considerable sum. The priests have been stirring up the people to a rescue, declaring that the misfortunes of the times will be redoubled if good Catholics are thus to be executed for the sake of heretics. The government was apprised of these cabals, and surrounded the place of execution with soldiers enough to destroy the hope of rescue, and the execution took place quietly: nor is this the only clamour of the kind. Some attempts, among the lower clergy, have been made to stir up the people to attack the heretics generally, but without success; either because they are really indifferent, or because they do not recognise,

in the humane and courteous strangers among them, the horrible features and manners which it had pleased the priests to decorate the poor heretics with in their imaginary pictures.

I went on board the Admiral's ship soon after breakfast to call on some of my friends, who, with their families, had taken refuge there on the night of the 19th, and to whom he had given up his cabin and lived himself in a tent on deck. The officers with whom I talked on the effect of the earthquake on board, told me, that, on feeling the shock and hearing the horrid noise, compounded of the aweful sound from the earth itself and that of the falling town, they had looked towards the land, and had seen only one cloud of dust and heard one dreadful shriek: Lord Cochrane and others threw themselves immediately into a boat, to go to the assistance, if help were still possible, of the sufferers. The rushing wave landed them higher than any boat had been before; and they then saw it retire frightfully, and leave many of the launches and other small vessels dry. They fully expected a return, and the probable drowning of the town; but the water came back no more, and the whole bottom of the bay has risen about three feet. Every one had some peculiar escape to relate. Poor Mrs. D. was alone, her father and husband having both gone out to spend the evening. Her servants fled from the house at the very first of the shock: she had two children, and could not carry them both out. She was with them in an upper room, — the infant was at her breast; she carried it to the cradle where her eldest lay, and leaning against the bed of one, with the other in her arms, she waited in mortal agitation to the end, when some one came to her relief, and carried her on board a vessel in the harbour.

After spending a very interesting forenoon on board the O'Higgins, listening to these tales of terror, I returned to Quintero in the Lautaro's launch, which performed the voyage in three hours; and might have done it in less, but for the swell, the consequence of yesterday's north wind.

29th. — Only one very sensible shock to-day.

30th. — Before ten o'clock, and at two, shocks accompanied with an unusually loud noise: it is seldom that any shock is entirely without. Sometimes a sound like an explosion takes place before the shock; sometimes a kind of rumbling noise accompanies it; and we often hear the sound without being sensible of any motion, though the quicksilver in the decanter is perceptibly agitated.

Dec. 1*st.* — The shocks have been slight, but frequent. We rode to-day to the village of Placilla, through the estate of Maytens, and by the lake of Carices, which bounds the Quintero estate; the scenery is extremely beautiful, and the valley of the lake rich and fruitful. Placilla is a pleasant village, and puts me in mind of something in England: it is prettily situated on the little stream of La Ligua*; the ranchos are of the better kind, and intermixed with orchards and gardens. Corn and pasture surround it, and the mountains rise at an agreeable distance. We found the people just coming from Mass, which had been celebrated in a ramada, built up in the church-yard; the church and parsonage, the only two brick-and-mortar edifices in the village, having been shaken down on the night of the 19th. The parsonage, however, is only partially destroyed. We found the curate in a little dirty room in a corner of the house, which I suppose is his study, with about a score of old books with greasy black leather covers; and in the corner a parcel of wool: after giving us some rum there, he led us over a heap of ruin to another corner-room but little damaged, where he set before us bread, butter, cheese, milk, and brandy, insisting that we should take luncheon with him; which we, nothing loath, consented to. I then went to settle accounts with the daughter of the judge of the village, — no less a personage than my washerwoman. But in ancient times the queens and princesses themselves washed for their fathers and brothers; and, I think, like the ladies here, the Princess Nausicaa took the foul clothes to the river-side to whiten. It must be confessed, that a

* The little town of La Ligua, famous for horses, was destroyed on the 19th.

Chilena washerwoman has decidedly the advantage, in elegance of appearance, over our ladies of the suds at home; but whether it be for the advantage of the community that the daughters of the judges and justices should so employ themselves, I leave to graver persons to determine; — though I think there is something against it in a statute of the first year of George the Third's reign, wherein the independence of judges is considered as necessary to their uprightness. But this is a long way from England.

Dec. 2d. — We have felt but one shock early this morning. I remember exclaiming on the apathy of the people of Carracas, who returned to rebuild their houses when the earthquakes returned only once in six hours, or some such period; and that was after several months passed without any considerable convulsion. But man is the creature of habit; and though it is scarcely a fortnight since all around us, " temple and tower, fell to the ground," and though we ourselves are living in tents and huts pitched round our ruined dwelling, we pursue our business, and even our amusements, as if nothing had happened, and lie down to sleep as confidently as if we had not lately seen the earth whereon we repose reeling to and fro. We have time too to turn to history and poetry, to compare the descriptions of men who did not feel the fearful times with the passing facts. One of these appears to me to have superior beauty and truth: Childe Harold is telling of the day of Thrasimene, when, in the fury of the battle, " an earthquake reeled unheededly away.".

" The earth to them was as a rolling bark
Which bore them to eternity; they saw
The ocean round, but had no time to mark
The motions of their vessel; Nature's law,
In them suspended, reck'd not of the awe
Which reigns when mountains tremble, and the birds
Plunge in the clouds for refuge, and withdraw
From their down-toppling nests, and bellowing herds
Stumble o'er heaving plains, and man's dread hath no words."

The southern winds are now come, and they often bring us such clouds of dust that our attempts to write are in vain; and our food would be defiled did we not retire to a little bower under the shelter of a hill,—where, in a dining-room of Nature's own making, with its door and windows looking to the ocean complete, we eat and remain until the evening calm comes on, when we collect round a large fire* that we burn at the front of our tents, and talk till bed time. Don Benito is perhaps the best companion for such a time that we could have had: he has seen so much of every thing that we have never either seen or heard, that his tales are always new; and for memory, the Sultaness Scheherezade herself did not surpass him: so we have named his stories the "Peruvian Nights' Entertainments;" and listen sometimes to the histories of the college of Quito, which prove that professors and students are on the same footing there that professors and students are, and have always been, in all times and countries; and love stories, that show that young hearts can feel, and confide,

* I afterwards learned, that this fire being seen from Valparaiso night after night, occasioned the report that a volcano had burst out at Quintero.

and even break, on the skirts of the Andes, as in the valleys of Europe; and to histories of revolution, when every passion and affection is called into action. These are incomparably the most interesting: they are the materials out of which tragedy and romance are built. The two following were told last night.

Juana Maria Pola, of Santa Fé de Bogotá, was a woman whose husband, and brothers, and sons, were deeply engaged in the patriot cause. When Santa Fé was taken from the royalists, after the barracks of the infantry and cavalry had been seized, the patriots paused to collect numbers sufficient to attack the artillery; and then was that interval, when "the boldest held his breath for a time." Juana Maria found her son among the troops, who were awaiting the rest. "What do you do here?" said she.—"I expect each moment to fight for *La Patria.*"—"Kneel down then, and take a mother's blessing. We women will go on and receive the first fire, and over our bodies you shall march and take yonder cannon, and save your country." She blessed her son, and rushed on with the foremost, and the day was theirs. From that day she held a captain's pay and rank. But the royalists retook Santa Fé, and Juana Maria Pola was one of their first victims: she was led to the market-place and shot.

Jose Maria Melgado was a young man of good family and excellent education. He was an advocate at twenty-two years of age, and on the point of being married to the woman of his choice. When Pomacao arose, Melgado instantly joined him, and became judge-advocate to the patriot army. Shortly afterwards General Ramirez took the place which was then Pomacao's head-quarters, and Melgado with others was taken and condemned to death. His family and friends, however, possessed such interest that he might have obtained his pardon, would he have submitted to the royal mercy, and embraced the royal cause. But to all that could be urged to that effect he appeared absolutely deaf, and persisted in returning no answer whatever. At length he was led out for execution; and the priest came to confess him, and even then and there

exhorted him to make his peace by a free and full acknowledgment of guilt, and to submit to the King; in which case he promised him a reprieve. He answered with great warmth, that it least of all became a priest to disturb the last moments of a dying man; and to call him back to worldly cares, when his soul had put them off: that it was nonsense to talk to him of a reprieve, for that his doom had been sealed, and he knew it; ay, even from the hour in which he had joined Pomacao. "A man," said he, "should be careful how he changes his opinions or his party; but having once seriously considered and adopted them, he should never swerve from them. Besides, it is too late to talk to me of reprieve or change. What I have done, I have done; and I do not regret it. I thought it right to espouse the cause of the freedom of my country; I think so still, and am willing to die for it. It ill becomes you to harass my last hour!" — The priest withdrew: the adjutant being by, Melgado asked leave to smoke a segar, saying he was a little ruffled, and wished to calm himself. Leave being given, he looked round to the spectators, and said, "Will any body for God's sake give me a segar?" A soldier handed him one: when he had half-smoked it he laid it down, saying he was ready, and felt calm again. The officer approached to bandage his eyes; he repulsed him, and said, "At least let me die with my eyes free." He was told it was necessary: "Well, well, this will do;" and placing his hand across his eyes, he signified that he was ready, and received the shot!

There is a real enthusiasm in the people of South America. They are ignorant, oppressed, and, perhaps, naturally indolent and timid. But the cry of independence has gone forth: the star of freedom has appeared on their horizon, — not again to set at the bidding of Spain, not to be hushed by the hitherto powerful talisman of kingly authority. Armies have penetrated forests, and scaled mountains, and waded through morasses, only to hail each other as fellow-labourers in the same cause, as co-partners in that new-won freedom they are resolved to leave to their children. It may, perhaps, be

long ere their states may be settled; the forms of their government may long fluctuate, and perhaps much blood may yet be shed in the cause, — for, alas! what human good is there which has not been purchased by some evil? But never again will the iron sceptre of the mother-country be stretched out over these lands.

Tuesday, December 3d. — The earth, which seemed to have resumed its stillness, has this day been violently convulsed. At half past three A. M.; at nine; at noon, a long and very severe shock with much noise; at two o'clock another; and at midnight a fifth, not inferior to those of the three first days, always excepting the first great one.

Wednesday, 4th. — Four severe shocks before eight o'clock this morning seemed to threaten a renewal of the first days after the 19th November; but since we have had only two slight ones to-day.

The tidings of Freire's march from Conception is now public, as well as the news of the meeting of the provincial convention, and its censure of that of Santiago, first, for declaring itself the first representative assembly; secondly, for receiving the Director's resignation and re-electing him: each of which acts is considered as illegal. It is whispered, that the Director talks of resigning. He is much hurt at what he calls, and perhaps feels, the ingratitude of Freire, to whom he was attached as one brave man to another, and whom he had always favoured. But Freire and his soldiers have carried on successfully a long and harassing war. They have not been paid; and it is said that Freire has another cause for resentment against the Director's family, if not against himself. General Freire was, it appears, passionately attached to a young lady, an orphan, who became so by the event of the battle of Maypu; and his regard was returned, and he hoped to marry her;—when, as the lady was, by her orphan state, a ward of government, her hand was bestowed upon another; and thus, with her rich possessions, she was taken from her lover to reward, it was said, a deserving officer. But who could deserve more than Freire? He said nothing — but can he have forgotten this? Besides, another marriage was offered to him from

which he could not but turn with disgust, thus doubling the injury done to his feelings.

Less provocation than this has, ere now, armed nation against nation; and, in the half-civilised state of this country, private feelings will tell more in the sum total of the causes of civil wars than in more polished states,—where men are smoothed down to such a resemblance to each other, and trained to such a command over the external signs of passion, that individual emotions have seldom influence beyond a family circle.

General Freire is a native of this country; but his father was an European, either English or French. He was never in Europe, and has read nothing; but he has strong natural powers and sagacity, an honourable and generous spirit, and has devoted himself entirely to military conduct and affairs. I do grieve for Chile. In the state to which the country had advanced, every day of tranquillity was a gain, in spite of bad government. There are elements of good here, which only want time and tranquillity to grow; and it is cruel, that the misdemeanors of the ministers should stir up civil strife, that worst of plagues, and so retard the progress of all that the nation has been struggling for. I could address the republic in the words of an old poet: —

"Ill-fated vessel! shall the waves again
Tempestuous bear thee to the faithless main?
What would thy madness, thus with storms to sport?
Ah! yet with caution keep the friendly port.
* * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * *
* * * The guardian gods are lost,
Whom you might call in future tempests tost."

FRANCIS'S *Horace.*

Thursday, 5th December. — We are again more quiet; only three slight shocks to-day.

Friday, 6th.—Only two shocks; but the highest wind I remember. A beautifully bright day; and the bay as lovely as possible, with the white waves dashing over the dark-blue surface. We were obliged to

Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

QUINTERO BAY.

take shelter in the grove, as the showers of sand penetrate the rancho in every direction, and nearly suffocate us. I have tied the branches of the quintral that hangs from the maytens to the shrubs below, and so made our wall firmer, and our window more shapely, that we may look out upon the sea and the hills; and having stuck four posts into the earth, and laid one of the fallen doors upon them, we are furnished with an admirable dining-table.

December 7th. — A slight shock at six A. M., immediately followed by a severe one; and another in the evening.

Lord Cochrane arrived in the Montezuma with Captain Winter and Messrs. Grenfell and Jackson. Glennie, who appeared to have been gaining ground for a fortnight, had another attack to-day.

Sunday, 8th. — A very severe shock.

Monday, 9th. — One very slight shock; the day dull and cloudy; the thermometer at 65° Fahrenheit. In the evening I had a pleasant walk to the beach with Lord Cochrane; we went chiefly for the purpose of tracing the effects of the earthquake along the rocks. At Valparaiso, the beach is raised about three feet, and some rocks are exposed, which allows the fishermen to collect the clam, or scollop shell-fish, which were not supposed to exist there before. We traced considerable cracks in the earth all the way between the house and the beach, about a mile, and the rocks have many evidently recent rents in the same direction: it seemed as if we were admitted to the secrets of nature's laboratory. Across the natural beds of granite, there are veins from an inch to a line in thickness. Most of these are quite filled up with white shiny particles, I suppose quartz, and in some places they even project a little from the face of the rock; others only begin to have their sides coated, and have their edges rounded, but are not nearly filled. The cracks of this earthquake are sharp and new, and easily to be distinguished from older ones: they run, besides, directly under the neighbouring hills, where the correspondent openings are much wider; and in some instances the earth has actually parted and fallen, leaving the stony base of the hills bare. On the beach, although it was high water, many rocks,

with beds of muscles, remain dry, and the fish are dead; which proves that the beach is raised about four feet at the Herradura. Above these recent shells, beds of older ones may be traced at various heights along the shore; and such are found near the summits of some of the loftiest hills in Chile, nay, I have heard, among the Andes themselves. Were these also forced upwards from the sea, and by the same causes? On our return, I picked up on the beach, in a little cove where there is a colony of fishermen, a quantity of sand, or rather of iron dust, which is very sensible to the magnet. It exactly resembles some that was brought me from the Pearl Islands lately. Here the rocks are of grey granite, and the soil is sand mixed with vegetable mould, and layers of pebbles and sea-shells; some of these upwards of 50 feet above the present beach. Nothing can be more lovely than the evening and morning scenery here. This evening, as we returned to the house, the snowy Andes were decked in hues of rose and vermilion; and the nearer hills in dazzling purple, streaming to the ocean, where the sun was setting in unclouded radiance.

Tuesday, 10*th*. — While sitting at dinner with Lord Cochrane, Messrs. Jackson, Bennet, and Orelle, we were startled by the longest and severest shock since the first great earthquake of the 19th November. Some ran out of the house * (for we now inhabit a part of it), and I flew to poor Glennie's bed-side: it had brought on severe hemorrhage, which I stopped with laudanum. Soon afterwards we had a slighter shock, and again at half past three a severe one. The wind was most violent, the thermometer at 65°.

11*th*. — A loud explosion and severe shock at half past seven A. M.; another at ten; and then two, very slight.

12*th*. — A violent shock at noon, a slight one afterwards. As we were riding home to-day from a little tour by Valle Alegri and the Carices, we found a long strip or bed of sea-weed, and another of

* The portion of the house built of wooden frame-work and plaistered stood perfectly, only the plaister was shaken off.

muscles, dead and very offensive; they had never been within reach of the tide since the 19th November. It was as fine a day as I ever remember.

> On the surface of the deep,
> The winds lay only not asleep;"

and as they stole through the woods of odoriferous shrubs, conveyed an almost intoxicating feeling to the sense. I cannot conceive a finer climate than that of Chile, or one more delightful to inhabit; and, now I am accustomed to the trembling of the earth, even that seems a less evil than I could have imagined. Old Purchas's quaint description of Chile is as true as it appears singular from its antiquated garb.—"The poor valley," says he, speaking of Chile, "is so hampered between the tyrannical meteors and elements, as that shee often quaketh with feare, and in these chill fevers shaketh off and loseth her best ornaments. Arequipa, one of her fairest townes, by such disaster in the yeere 1582, fell to the ground. And sometimes the neighbour hilles are infected with this pestilent fever, and tumble down as dead in the plain; thereby so amazing the feareful rivers, that they runne out of their channels to seeke new, or else stand still with wonder, and the motive heate failing, fall into an uncouth tympany, their bellies swelling into spacious and standing lakes: the tides, seeing this, hold back their course, and dare not approach their sometime beloved streames by divers miles' distance, so that betwixt these two stools the ships *come to ground indeed.* The sicke earth thus having her mouth stopped, and her stomache overlaied, forceth new mouthes, whence she vomiteth streams of oppressing waters. I speake not of the beastes and men, which, in these civil warres of nature, must needes bee subject to devouring miserie."

Dec. 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th.—There have been four shocks each day, accompanied by much noise; and we have heard several explosions, without feeling any motion, like the noise of heavy guns at sea. I have been occupied in reading San Martin's accusations of Lord Cochrane, and His Lordship's reply. The accusations are as frivolous as they are base; and are exactly calculated to excite and

keep up that jealousy which his being a foreigner and a nobleman, and his great talents, have excited. Presented to the government of Santiago while His Lordship was absent, and by envoys whose private malignity added to every accusation all the force of hints and inuendos, they struck at his honour and his personal safety equally. Happily there were some feelings which prevented the Director from giving credit to some of the charges, and he knew that documents existed which disproved others; and with this knowledge, and these feelings, he had entreated Lord C. not to answer San Martin immediately on his arrival, lest such an answer as he might give should involve the governments in contention or war. Now, however, that San Martin has retired from the government of Peru, and that no evil can arise to the public from a refutation of the atrocious calumnies he has taken pains to spread here and to send into foreign countries, Lord C. has addressed a letter to him, not only exculpating himself, but exposing the baseness, cruelty, and cowardice of San Martin.* Had the letter nothing to do with Lord Cochrane's justification or San Martin's accusation, the picture it presents of the conduct of the war in Peru would render it one of the most curious documents that has yet appeared before the public concerning the affairs of South America.

Dec. 17th. Mr. Grenfell arrived from the port to-day, bearing important news. General Freire has advanced as far as Talca, and a division of the army of Santiago is ordered to be in readiness to meet him. The marines belonging to the squadron, with Major Hyne at their head, marched towards the city last night, by orders from the minister of marine, to reinforce the Director's troops. Many arbitrary orders have also been issued to the squadron, so that the Admiral has resolved to go and resume the command to-night. The Galvarino was ordered to be in readiness for sea; it is rumoured to take some important personage, perhaps San Martin, on board, and so convey him to Buenos Ayres, or some other place of safety,

* See the Sketch of the History of Chile prefixed to this part of the journal, particularly from p. 83. to the end.

imagining that his retreat by the Andes would be cut of. Some time ago the same order was given, and it was supposed for the same purpose in fact, although it was to be executed by the vessel running along the coast, and taking up the passenger or passengers at the mouth of the Maypu. But neither then nor now would the squadron hear of her sailing, having a claim on her, as she was pledged to be sold to pay the officers and men. The Lautaro has accordingly loaded her guns, and is to sink her if she attempts to move without the Admiral's express permission. The fort has loaded its guns also, but this the squadron may laugh at. His Lordship's resuming the command will no doubt restore every thing to order.

The party in the South have not been inactive by sea any more than by land. Captain Casey, who was captain of the port at Talcahuana, has the command of a large vessel which arrived off Valparaiso last night, but did not anchor. She sent a boat on board the O'Higgins, it is conjectured with the design of engaging the squadron to abandon the cause of the Director, and to act in opposition to the government, whose sworn subjects every officer and man are. But if such were the design, it has failed. Captain Casey has proceeded to Coquimbo, where he is likely to meet with more success. That port, like those of the South, is grievously injured by the reglamento; the troops are equally indignant at the non-payment of their wages; and if I may trust the reports brought by cattle-dealers and other itinerant persons, they are all ready to revolt. The troops at Quillota and Aconcagua have refused to march to the capital; and though the recruiting is going on in all the neighbouring districts, it is doubtful on which side the new troops will engage. We begin to feel the anxieties preparatory to a civil war. Our pistols are cleaned; we have prepared a store of bullets: we feel an unusual uneasiness on account of the Admiral, who is riding to town with only his one peon.

Wednesday, December 18th. — Three shocks to-day, all slight.

Thursday, 19th. — One long shock, with a very loud noise, and several slight shocks.

Friday, 20th. — Some very slight shocks; none of which I felt, being

on horseback at the time. Unless the shocks are very violent, or the sound very loud, the horses and mules do not appear to feel them.

I rode to Valparaiso: the morning was dull and drizzling. I cannot describe the effect of such a day on the scenery between Quintero and Concon, by the long beach of nine miles: on one side the sand-hills with not a sign of vegetation, on the other a furious surf; both seeming interminable, and being lost in the thick air; or if a breeze now and then blows the haze aside, the distant dreary points of land seem suspended far above the visible horizon, and one goes on with a kind of desperate eagerness to see what will be the end. I was in a fine humour for moralising. Earthquake under me, civil war around me; my poor sick relation apparently dying; and my kind friend, my *only* friend here indeed, certainly going to leave the country, at least for a time.* All this left me with nothing but the very present to depend on; and, like the road I was travelling, what was to come was enveloped in dark clouds, or at best afforded most uncertain glimpses of the possible future.

In such cases the mind is apt to make a sport to itself of its very miseries. I more than once on the way caught myself smiling over the fanciful resemblances I drew between human life and the scene I was in; or at the fatality which had brought me, an Englishwoman, whose very characterestic is to be the most domestic of creatures, almost to the antipodes, and placed me among all the commotions of nature and of society. But if not a sparrow falls unheeded to the ground, I may feel sure that I am not forgotten. Often am I obliged to have recourse to this assurance, to make me bear evils and inconveniences that none, not the meanest, in my own happy country would submit to without complaint.

The appearance of Mr. Miers at the little rock near the mouth of the river dissipated all my misty reflections, however. He had come to show me the new ford, the old one being now dangerous; and we had a pleasant ride together to his house, where we breakfasted. I

* See Lord Cochrane's address to the Chilenos hereafter in the Journal.

had been an hour and a quarter in riding the twelve miles, including the ford; which takes a long time both to find and to cross, the river, though shallow, being wider and more rapid than the Thames at London-bridge. Mr. Miers accompanied me to the port; and after transacting some business (for some of the merchants do appear in the day time at their warehouses, or the scites of them), and changing my riding-dress, I went on board the O'Higgins to dinner.

I find that although Lord Cochrane has twice tendered his resignation to the government, it has not been accepted. But he is not the less resolved on a temporary absence. After dinner, as I was waiting for a boat to pay a visit on board another ship, and leaning over the taffel-rail of the frigate, musing on all the discomforts of my situation, and the dreariness of my prospects, especially if the rains should come before Glennie was able to move to some warm dry house, I felt a heaviness of heart that few occurrences of my life, and many a painful one I have abided, had occasioned. I saw no prospect of comfort; and suddenly it came from a quarter where I had not expected, indeed where I should not have dared to expect it. Lord Cochrane came up to me where I stood, and gently calling my attention, said, that as he was going to sail soon from this country, I should take a great uneasiness from his mind if I would go with him. He could not bear, he said, to leave the unprotected widow of a British officer thus on the beach, and cast away as it were in a ruined town, a country full of civil war! I replied, I could not leave my sick relation, — I had promised his mother to watch him. "Nor do I ask you to do so," answered Lord Cochrane. "No, he must go too, and surely he will be as well taken care of with us, as you could do it alone." I could not answer — I could not look my thanks; but if there is any one who has had an oppressive weight on the heart, that seemed too great either to bear or to obtain relief for, and who has had that weight suddenly and kindly removed, then they may understand my sensations, — then they may guess at a small part of the gratitude with which my heart was filled, but which I could not utter.

21*st.*—One great and several lesser shocks to-day. I find my English friends what may be called comfortably settled now, on board the several vessels in the harbour, where they have either hired the whole or part of the cabins, by way of dwelling-houses. The governor of Valparaiso and his family have the sheds of the dock-yard fitted up, and are living there. Many of the richer inhabitants are gone to Santiago; the poor and middling classes still continue encamped on the neighbouring hills. In clearing the rubbish in the town, many more dead are found than it was at first supposed there could be. Some of the merchants have erected tents and wooden houses in the broad parts of the streets, where they sleep at night to guard their goods; but no one ventures to pass the night in his house, except Madame Pharoux, the pretty wife of the keeper of the French hotel, who still appears at the bar smiling, and only shrugging her shoulders a little at things "*inouies à Paris;*" but for the rest, profiting, I believe, by the commotion that has extinguished most kitchen fires but her own. She has been fortunate, and deserves it.

22*d.*—Only three slight shocks. The business of preparing for my voyage still keeps me in Valparaiso: I pass the day packing on shore, eating with my different friends afloat; and I sleep in a corner of the cabin where Mrs. D. and her family have found refuge, on board the O'Higgins. Well does Shakspeare say, "Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows:" we are all, English and Chilenos, men, women, and children, brought together in a way that nothing but the miseries we have all felt could account for.

23*d.*—A few very slight shocks, felt as perceptibly on board as on shore. I went down to Quintero with my goods in the Lautaro's launch; we were four hours and a half on the voyage. My arrival was a matter of some importance at Quintero. I had laughingly told my friends there, that I was determined we should have a plum-pudding on Christmas-day, and that I would return with sufficient materials, and in good time to make it. Accordingly, the first things thought of were raisins and sugar, spices and sweetmeats; and I

found that I had not been singular in remembering the promise, for I was greeted on my return with a gay little poem, by Mr. Jackson, on the subject; and to us, who never see a new book, or only by chance, when an American trader brings out the Philadelphia reprint of a new London or Edinburgh novel (the *Pirate* is the last we have seen), a new poem, even of a hundred or half a hundred lines, on any subject, is a literary treat, and is valued accordingly. At any rate, I am sure no birth-day ode, saving, perhaps, the celebrated probationary odes, ever gave the readers more pleasure than our pudding rhapsody; and as the walls of Thebes arose to the sounds of Amphion's lyre, so my plums were picked and my pudding compounded to the rhymes of Mr. Jackson's verse. I can be delighted with every thing, now I am relieved from my anxiety and I have a prospect of seeing home once more.

December 25th. — The perfect stillness of the earth yesterday little prepared us for the tremendous shock we experienced at eight o'clock this morning. It was only not so severe as that of the 19th November, and was followed by several slighter ones; but nothing alarming occurred after the first. We are all busy with preparations for leaving "this delightful land," for such it is in spite of its earthquakes. I should feel less regret at leaving it if I saw it prosperous and at peace; but every hour brings fresh reports of wars and rumours of wars. The people of Coquimbo have openly thrown off their allegiance to the Director; and have convened a provincial congress, and mean to oppose the government of Santiago by every means in their power.

26th. — Only two shocks to-day.

27th. — Four shocks. We learn to-day that the greatest consternation prevails in the city. Arcas's bills are said to be at a discount of 40 *per cent.*: he himself refuses them; and we hear that an officer of distinction has been imprisoned on account of some dispute that arose on the subject, in which Arcas behaved extremely ill. Be that as it may, the government shows its alarm by having recourse to petty expedients. In order to appear strong and rich, orders have

been issued concerning the rebuilding of Valparaiso, and magnificent plans talked of. But the grand stroke is the order given to the Admiral to place the O'Higgins and Valdivia under the charge of the commandant of marine, in order, as it is said, to be repaired, and to make a store-ship of the Lautaro. This is intended to answer no less than three ends. The people are to be deluded by seeing that the government has confidence enough to undertake so heavy an expense as the repair of the two ships at this time. Lord Cochrane is deprived of even the slightest authority; and as they have not accepted his resignation, he is, they flatter themselves, a kind of state-prisoner; and I doubt not would, the moment they dared, be sacrificed to the same private malignity which instigated the charges laid against him in April. He remains in the port until he has put it out of the power of the Lautaro to put to sea, by causing her to strike her masts, &c. And he has hoisted his flag on board the schooner Montezuma, the only thing now serviceable at Valparaiso; the Galvarino, with not an Englishman in her, having at length sailed by his permission, on the request of the Director, for some secret service. Those who planned this blow forgot the schooner, I presume. Thank God, he will soon be beyond the reach of the ill-treatment of those for whom he has done so much! All the seamen are paid off. The officers only are retained, and on full pay. The arrears have been also paid, excepting to the crew of the Montezuma, and part of that of the Lautaro. The troops are dissatisfied; and I suspect that nothing but the personal respect felt for the Director still holds his wretched government together.

28th. — Some slight shocks felt to-day.

Sunday, 29th. — The earth has been remarkably quiet these last twenty-four hours.

Lord Cochrane arrived, bringing with him the D—-s, and all their family. They had taken refuge on board the O'Higgins, and now the ship is dismantled they have not where to lay their heads: here there is at least shelter among the tents and ranchos, and quiet and kindness.

We are a motley company it must be confessed; and a strange locality we present. The main part of the house is lying flat before us. All the wood-work has been removed; and the whited walls, nearly entire, of the two large rooms are lying flat upon the earth before the windows of the still habitable part of the dwelling. A little round vestibule still stands, occupied as a secretary's room; and there some one or two, or more, of the gentlemen sleep: then there is a room, by courtesy called mine, in which Glennie, my maid, and I, all live; besides all my clothes, books, and furniture, *i. e.* what the room will hold; the rest is in the open air before it. Next stands His Lordship's room; where he sleeps on a sofa, where all his business is transacted, and where, when the wind renders it impossible to dine in the rancho, we all eat. It serves, besides, as a pantry. Then Mrs. D——'s room, where she, her husband, two children, and two female servants, all live: two tents near the dining rancho shelter some of the servants. Mr. Bennet, commonly called Don Benito, has pitched his tent in a little grove at a distance: the rancho shelters, in one corner, our prisoner Don Fausto; and a very strange collection of servants and idlers take refuge in the half-standing kitchen and cellar. Such are the inhabitants, and such the present situation of the house of Quintero! Persons brought together by the state of the country, that no other possible combination of circumstances could have forced into any thing like intimacy, as different from each other in education, habits, and manners, as they are in rank and character, and only holding together by the common necessity that leaves them no choice; and that house in ruins which was not quite finished, and had been built with a view to comfort and elegance!

Tuesday, Dec. 31st, 1822.—The earth has been pretty quiet during these last days. Once or twice in the course of the day, and generally as often in the night, there are sensible shocks, and still oftener loud noises; but nothing alarming. Our preparations for leaving the country afford little time for attention to much else. We hear, however, that the disaffection to the existing government is daily spreading, especially to the northward; and that the Coquimbo

convention is doing its utmost to raise money &c., and to oppose O'Higgins, and has actually sent 20,000 dollars to Freire.

After dinner we generally walk to the sea-side to enjoy the prospect and the music of the sea, which comes, " like the joys that are " past, sweet and mournful to the soul." To-day we sat long on the promontory of the Herradura, to see the last sun of 1822 go down into the Pacific, and we watched how long his rays gilded the tops of the Andes after he himself was hid in ocean. The sea was beating nearly round us; as far as the eye could reach, there was but the ruins of one human habitation; the deep shadows of evening concealed the narrow traces of cultivation, that here and there encroach on the wild thickets, bounded by the mountains; the cattle had retired to the woods; and nothing living but the night-birds flitting round us, told that we still belonged to a living race. My thoughts naturally went back to times when life and its enjoyments were young; when I had hearts that sympathised, friends that felt with me. Nay, even the last sun of the last year went down with hope, almost with confidence, for me. But now, the generous feeling of almost a stranger, alone bestows a momentary comfort on me. Misery and death have been busy with me: my best hopes have been disappointed; and I have to seek new interests, ere life itself can be otherwise than burthensome.

My companion at length roused me to recollection, by naming the hour. A silent walk home, with a not unpleasant feeling of sad remembrance, ended this, perhaps the most disastrous, year of my life.

January 1st, 1823. — Well might Young exclaim, " Tired Nature's " sweet restorer, balmy sleep!" This fine, fresh, fair morning has awakened me to life, and light, and hope, and at least the certainty that come what will, this year cannot be so disastrous as the last. I have now nothing to lose, and every common enjoyment must be a gain to me.

The inconvenience of dwelling with so many people is beginning to increase, as our packages are made up. Therefore Lord

Cochrane has ordered some tents to be pitched on the sea-shore; whither the goods will be taken immediately, and at least part of the family will also go. I have been busy in my vocation, and have the pleasure to see my invalid gradually improving in health.

2d.— At length we have divided the enormous party of Quintero. The dining-room is carried down and placed by the tents; and the D——s are left in quiet possession of the house, along with the overseer of the estate, who has established a salting-house here, where he has cured about ten thousand dollars' worth of beef, as fine as any Irish beef I ever saw. Our new settlement forms a line along the sea-beach in the following order: first, the dining rancho nearest to the hill, where a fisherman's hut serves as a kitchen, and where there is a well of sweet water; next, stands a very large tent, across which a screen is placed, thus forming two apartments for Glennie and me; Lord Cochrane inhabits the second tent; the third is appropriated to packages, and a guard sleeps there; the fourth is Mr. Jackson's; the fifth, Don Fausto's; the sixth, Carillo's; and Don Benito has pitched his out of the line behind the rest: so that now every person has his own separate apartment; and every body may meet the rest in the rancho when it is agreeable. The sea reaches to within a few yards of our tents, rolling smoothly in, just opposite, and breaking a little to the left round the rocks and the wreck of the Aquila, one of the Admiral's Guayaquil prizes. The shell-fish have already taken possession of her, within and without; and we are frequently indebted to that circumstance for one of our greatest dainties, the large eatable barnacle, peculiar in Chile to the bay of Quintero, and known by the name of *pico*. I have sent my maid to Concon to take care of Mrs. Miers's children, as she was of no use here; and I did not think the sort of Robin Hood life we are leading, the most advisable thing in the world for a young good-looking girl. She will be safe and happy where she is.

January 3d.— To-day I set up the lithographic press in Lord Cochrane's tent, to print the following address to the Chilenos; which we hope to get ready to-morrow: —

" *Lord Cochrane to the Inhabitants of Chile.*

" CHILENOS — MY COUNTRYMEN!

" The common enemy of America has fallen in Chile. Your Tri-
" coloured flag waves on the Pacific, secured by your sacrifices. Some
" internal commotions agitate Chile: it is not my business to inves-
" tigate their causes, to accelerate or retard their effects; but I can
" only wish the result that may be most favourable for all parties.
" Chilenos! You have expelled from your country the enemies of
" your independence: do not sully the glorious act by encouraging
" discord, and promoting anarchy, that greatest of evils. Consult the
" dignity to which your heroism has raised you; and if you must
" take any step to secure your rational liberty, judge for yourselves,
" act with prudence, and be guided by reason and justice.

" It is now four years since the sacred cause of your independence
" called me to Chile: I assisted you to gain it; I have seen it ac-
" complished; it only remains to preserve it.

" I leave you for a time, in order not to involve myself in mat-
" ters foreign to my duties, and for reasons concerning which I
" now remain silent, that I may not encourage party spirit.

" Chilenos! You know that independence is purchased at the
" point of the bayonet. Know also, that liberty is founded on good
" faith, and on the laws of honour; and that those who infringe upon
" them are your only enemies, — among whom you will never find

" COCHRANE.

" Quintero, January 4th, 1823."

We have also another of the same date to print, addressed to the merchants of England and other nations trading to the Pacific. It is as follows: —

" Quintero, Chile, January 4th, 1823.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I cannot quit this country without expressing to you the heart-
" felt satisfaction which I experience on account of the extension
" which has been given to your commerce, by laying open, to all, the

" trade of those vast provinces, to which Spain formerly asserted an " exclusive right. The squadron which maintained the monopoly " has disappeared from the face of the ocean; and the flags of inde- " pendent South America wave every where triumphant, protecting " that intercourse between nations which is the source of their riches, " power, and happiness.

" If, for the furtherance of this great object, some restraints were " imposed, they were no other than those sanctioned by the practice " of all civilised states; and though they may have affected the im- " mediate interests of a few who were desirous to avail themselves " of accidental circumstances presented during the contest, it is a " gratification to know that such interests were only postponed for " the general good. Should there, however, be any who conceive " themselves aggrieved by my conduct, I have to request them to " make known their complaints, with their names affixed, through " the medium of the public press, in order that I may have an " opportunity of particular reply.

" I trust you will do me the justice to believe that I have not de- " termined to withdraw myself from these seas, while any thing " remained within my means to accomplish for your benefit and " security.

" I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
" Your faithful humble servant,
" COCHRANE."

Mr. C———, who understands the management of the press better than any of our party, has kindly volunteered to come and assist in taking the impressions from the stone.

I like this wild life we are living, half in the open air; every thing is an incident; and as we never know who is to come, or what is to happen next, we have the constant stimulus of curiosity to bear us to the end of every day. The evening walk is the only thing we are sure of. Sometimes we trace the effects of the recent earthquake, and fancy they lead to marks of others infinitely more violent, and at

periods long anterior to our knowledge. Often we have little other object than the mere pleasure of the earth, and air, and sky. Sometimes we go to the garden, where every thing is thriving beyond all hope. And we are busy collecting seeds of the wild plants of the country, though it is too early in the season to find many ripe.

5th. — We have again lost the Admiral for a few days. The press is removed to my tent, where we are more free to work at all hours, without interrupting business or being interrupted by it; and we might flatter ourselves that we were going on extremely well, were it not that the ink sent by the makers of presses for exportation is so very bad that we are obliged to renew the writing on the stone very frequently, so that we might have multiplied the copies almost as quickly with the pen.

9th. — We have been surprised at seeing a large ship come into the bay, and stand off and on for some hours. Every thing now awakens suspicion; and as the Admiral has been longer absent than was expected, and that without writing, we are beginning to be a little alarmed on his account.

The public news shows, I think, that the event of the present struggle must be decided ere long. Freire has reached the Maule, only six days' march from Santiago; and though the Director protested at first that he never would give up Rodriguez, it appears now, that not only the minister, but the measures — not only Rodriguez, but the reglamento, have been sacrificed, too late, in all probability, to save the rest. The will to defend the abuses has been shown, the weakness that was forced to abandon them proved, and the respect and the love for the old government proportionably diminished. I am very sorry for the Director, — I believe truly that he meant well, and I cannot forget his great kindness to myself. *

* I cannot help referring here to the 1st chapter of the 2d book of Delolme on the Constitution of England, from the paragraph beginning, "If we cast our eyes on all the states that were ever free," to the end of the quotation from Machiavel's History of Florence, as rather a history than a description of the events that have taken place in Chile since 1810, when the faction of the Carreras led the way to all that has happened since.

10*th.* — Lord Cochrane returned to us in the Montezuma;—every thing is finally settled as to our departure. The brig Colonel Allen is to come to Quintero, where we are all to embark; and in less than a week we expect to be under weigh. All hands are now employed; the overseer's people on the hill salting beef, the carpenters nailing up boxes, people cutting strips of hide for cordage, secretaries writing, the press at work, sailors fitting spars across the light logs, called balsas, to make a raft to ship the goods with *; and amidst all this, people coming and going, foreigners and English, to take leave of the Admiral; and some, I am sorry to say, for the purpose of being, and showing themselves, ungrateful. Men for whom he had done every thing, both in the Chilian service and long before they joined it, — nay, who owed their very bringing up at all to him, reproach him for their own disappointed vanity or desire of gain; as if he had the dispensing of honorary titles or distinctions, or the disposal of the public funds. He did for them on his return from Acapulco what he did for himself, — he obtained a solemn promise from the ministers both of pay and of reward.† If any of the officers have now made a private bargain for their own personal advantage, they best know on what terms they have made it. However, some in this country, and those among the best, have, I really think, a sincere regard for the Admiral; but I believe in friendship as in love, "*ce n'est pas tout d'être aimé; il faut être apprécié:*" and I scarcely know one here who is capable of appreciating him justly; so that even the very homage he receives is unworthy of him. Oh, why is he not at home!

17*th.* — At length every thing is embarked, and we are ready to sail. This morning I walked with Lord Cochrane to the tops of most of the hills immediately between the house of the Herradura and the sea: perhaps it may be the last time he will ever tread these grounds, for which he was doing so much; and I shall, in all proba-

* Balsas are literally rafts: but the name is extended to those large trunks of trees as light as cork, which are now commonly used instead of the inflated seal skins, which the native Chilenos had adapted to the same purpose.

† See the letters of the 4th June, and the 19th June, 1822, in the Introduction, p. 110.

bility, never again see the place, where, in spite of much suffering, I have also enjoyed much pleasure. We gathered many seeds and roots, which I hope to see springing up in my own land, to remind me of this, where I have met with a kindness and a hospitality never to be forgotten.* As to the Admiral, he must always feel that if he has not been well requited, he has done good to the great cause of independence; he has done good also to the people of this country, by giving them the first ideas of many improvements in their agriculture, their arts, and even their government, all of which will produce fruit, though it may be late. And, on this ground, his recollections of Chile can never be otherwise than agreeable. — On returning to the tents we found several friends assembled to take leave: the tents, indeed, had been struck, and nothing remained but the rancho, where we dined most cheerfully, though rudely enough; the servants having carried every thing but a few knives and plates on board. However, we cut forks out of pieces of wood, and passed the knives round; and, with a roast dressed in the open air, and potatoes baked in the ashes, we made our last dinner at the Herradura.

18*th*. — Every body slept on board last night; and this morning was spent in getting in wood and water. At six o'clock, Captain Crosbie went on board the Montezuma to haul down Lord Cochrane's† flag, and thus formally to give up the naval command in Chile. One gun was fired, and the flag was brought on board the Colonel Allen to His Lordship, who was standing on the poop: he received it without apparent emotion, but desired it to be taken care of. Some of those around him appeared more touched than he was. ‡ Under that flag he had often led them to victory, and always to honour. Quintero is fading fast behind us; and God knows if we may any of us ever see it again.

* While this sheet was in the press one of the bulbous roots, called in Chile *Mancaya*, flowered in the garden of Messrs. Lee and Kennedy, at Hammersmith; it is now called the *Cyrtanthia Cochranea*.

† The flag he used on board the O'Higgins had been previously sent to the government.

‡ Captain Crosbie, and Lieutenants Grenfell, Shepherd, and Clewly, with some civilians.

Lord Cochrane had adopted Chile as his country: its government has used him ill; and now at a time when, if he had been so minded, revenge on the authors of the ill-usage he has suffered would have been easy, he withdraws. I know that it has been thought right that in civil commotions every honest man should take part, in order that the wiser might bring matters to an accommodation. This is good for the natives of a country, but is no ways to be desired from a stranger, especially a martial man of high reputation and rank, who might be supposed to have the inclination as well as the power to set up his own authority. In this case, having done every thing to deliver the country from a foreign enemy, and to secure its national independence, it is wisdom, it is generosity, to stand aloof and let the seed of the soil be the arbiters of the concerns of the soil. Law and justice themselves can but guard the citizens from external evils, but may not meddle in their family affairs.

From the 18th to the 21st we had weather very uncomfortable, and a disagreeable sea; but this morning (22d) we descried the island of Mas-afuera about seven leagues off, right a-head, through a fog; and shortly after bore up for Juan Fernandez, where we were to complete the water for the ship. I should have been sorry, indeed, to have left the Pacific without seeing the very island of Alexander Selkirk, the prototype of that most interesting of all heroes of romance (excepting Don Quixote), Robinson Crusoe.

24th. — Yesterday and to-day in sight of Juan Fernandez, and working for it, but could not reach it till near sunset. It is the most picturesque I ever saw, being composed of high perpendicular rocks wooded nearly to the top, with beautiful valleys; and the ruins of the little town in the largest of these heighten the effect. It was too late to go ashore when we anchored; but it was a bright moonlight, and we staid long on deck to-night, admiring the extraordinary beauty of the scene.

25th. — Before daylight this morning Lord Cochrane and most of the other gentlemen went ashore to climb to the high ridge behind the port, and look over to the other side of the island, where it is

reported there are some plains and arable land. I watched them ascend up a very high peak, and then went ashore with Glennie and others to walk about and dine; I found His Lordship's party returned from their walk much disappointed. The boatswain of the brig, who had been for several days on the island some years before, had undertaken to guide them; but instead of leading them to the ridge of the highest land, he only conducted them with much labour to the top of a fearful pinnacle, whose height is about 1500 feet; but as it is surrounded by still higher rocks, nothing more was to be seen from it than from below. Lord Cochrane brought from the summit a piece of heavy black porous lava; and under that he found some dark hardened clay full of cells, the inside of which appear slightly vitrified. The island seems chiefly composed of this porous lava; the strata of which, being crossed at right angles by a very compact black lava, dip on the eastern side of the island about 22°, and on the west side 16°, pointing to the centre of the island as an apex. The valleys are exceedingly fertile, and watered by copious streams, which occasionally form small marshes, where the panke grows very luxuriantly, as well as water-cress and other aquatic plants. The soil is generally of a reddish brown: there are several small hills and banks of bright-red clay; and I thought I found puzzolano, and some fragments of coarse pumice-stone. The little valley where the town is, or rather was, is exceedingly beautiful. It is full of fruit trees, and flowers, and sweet herbs, now grown wild: near the shore it is covered with radish and sea-side oats. The colony of Juan Fernandez had been used as a place of confinement for state-prisoners. I do not know in what precise year it was founded; but it could not have been long before the revolution in Chile, as I find over the door of the ruined church the following inscription: —

"La casa de Dios es la puerta del cielo y
Se coloco, 24 Setembre, de 1811."

A small fort was situated on the sea-shore, of which there is now nothing visible but the ditches and part of one wall. Another,

of considerable size for the place, is on a high and commanding spot: it contained barracks for soldiers, which, as well as the greater part of the fort, are ruined; but the flag-staff, front wall, and a turret are standing; and at the foot of the flag-staff lies a very handsome brass gun, cast in Spain A.D. 1614. A few houses and cottages are still in tolerable condition, though most of the doors, windows, and roofs have been taken away or used as fuel, by whalers and other ships touching here.

The colony was in a tolerably flourishing condition for some years, and the exiles had found means to cultivate vegetables and fruit, which thrive so well here that many of the kinds have become wild, to such an extent as, by supplying ships, to obtain additional comforts in their exile. Some jealousy was, however, entertained against this, and the banished men were forbidden the indulgence. The cultivation of the grape, which was found to thrive wonderfully, was also prohibited; and dogs were sent over to the island to hunt the cattle out of the woods, in order that the settlers might not become too independent. Still, however, the settlement was kept up, and ships frequently touched there, especially for water, which is much better and more abundant than at Valparaiso, and keeps well at sea; but the island, no longer permitted to raise provisions, was victualled from Chile. At length, in the middle of 1821, an insurrection against the governor, headed by one Brandt, a North American, took place; in which it was believed that one of the unhappy Carreras of Viña a la Mar was implicated. This young man had been banished to the island for some political crime, and was killed in the very first of the disturbances; so that it is extremely doubtful whether he had any thing to do with the conspiracy. I have heard, indeed, that one of the exiles, who was jealous of him, not without reason, took the opportunity afforded by the disturbance of revenging himself. The insurgents having confined the governor and overcome the garrison, seized the boats of an American whaler, which had touched there, with the intention of going on board the

ship, and so escaping to some foreign land. The whaler left her boats, and brought news of the state of the island to Valparaiso. *

This insurrection of Brandt's determined the government of Chile to abandon the settlement. The garrison was consequently withdrawn, the fort dismantled, and the place rendered as far as possible unfit for future inhabitants. Nevertheless, early this year the government of Chile published a manifesto, setting forth its claim to the place, and forbidding any persons whatsover to settle there, or to kill the cattle, or take the wood of the island. After walking about a long time among the ruined cottages and gardens, I returned to the place where I left my companions, and found that the young men had pitched on a most charming spot for a dining room. Under the shade of two enormous fig-trees there is a little circular space bounded by a clear rivulet, which in its rapid descent bounds from stone to stone, and mixes its murmurs with those of the breeze and the distant ocean. Here I found Lord Cochrane and the rest seated round a table-cloth of broad fig-leaves covered with such provision as the ship afforded, eked out with fruit of the island hardly yet ripe. Our claret was cooled in a little linny in the stream, and the decorations of our bower were the rich foliage and fruit of the overhanging trees, and the flowers of the opposite bank, on which stands the castle, reflected in the broken silver of the water that gurgled past.

After dinner I walked with Lord Cochrane to the valley called Lord Anson's Park. On our way we found numbers of European shrubs and herbs,

> "Where once the garden smiled,
> And still where many a garden flower grows wild."

And in the half-ruined hedges, which denote the boundaries of former fields, we found apple, pear, and quince trees, with cherries almost ripe. The ascent is steep and rapid from the beach even in the valleys, and the long grass was dry and slippery, so that it rendered the walk

* In consequence of this the British Commodore sent notices to the ports of Brazil and the Spanish Colonies, to prevent English merchantmen from touching at Juan Fernandez, lest the exiles should seize them and so escape.

Drawn by Maria Graham.

Engraved by Edw.d Finden.

WATERING PLACE JUAN FENIANDEZ.

rather fatiguing; and we were glad to sit down under a large quince tree on a carpet of balm bordered with roses, now neglected, and rest, and feast our eyes with the lovely view before us. Lord Anson has not exaggerated the beauty of the place, or the delights of the climate; we were rather early for its fruits; but even at this time we have gathered delicious figs, and cherries, and pears, that a few more days' sun would have perfected. I was quite sorry to leave our station in the park, and return to the landing-place to embark for the dark close ship.

The landing-place is also the watering-place; and there a little jetty is thrown out, formed of the beach pebbles, making a little harbour for the boats, which lie there close to the fresh water, which comes conducted by a pipe, so that with a hose the casks may be filled, without landing, with the most delicious water. Along the beach some old guns are sunk to serve as moorings for vessels, which are all the safer the nearer in-shore they lie: violent gusts of wind often blow from the mountain for a few minutes. During our absence, we found that Glennie had been calculating the height of the island, which he makes about 3000 feet.

26th. — I went ashore with Lord Cochrane's party early to-day, as I wished to make some sketches, and, if possible, to climb up some of the hills in search of plants; therefore, when they all resumed their scheme for reaching the highest point in order to see the other side of the island, I remained behind. They were soon out of sight: the vessel was far from hearing; no boat was ashore; and I was left alone among the ruins of the once-flourishing colony. I did not long stay there; but walked, or rather crawled—for the steepness of the land rendered it necessary often to depend partly on my hands in the ascent — to a place where the marks of cultivation led me to search for the herbs or trees which might have been imported; and there I found the vine grown wild over a pretty considerable track; pot-herbs, particularly parsley, I found abundance of; and such beds of sweet mint spread along the water-courses, that I think it must be native; so are the strawberry and the winter cherry.

And now I had reached a lonely spot, where no trace of man could be seen, and whence I seemed to have no communication with any living thing. I had been some hours alone in this magnificent wilderness; and though at first I might begin with exultation to cry —

> "I am monarch of all I survey,
> My right there is none to dispute,"

yet I very soon felt that utter loneliness is as disagreeable as unnatural; and Cowper's exquisite lines again served me —

> "Oh, solitude! where are thy charms
> That sages have seen in thy face?
> Better dwell in the midst of alarms,
> Than reign in this horrible place."

And I repeated over and over the whole of the poem, till I saw two of my companions of the morning coming down the hill, when I hurried to meet them, as if I had been really "out of humanity's reach."

The two were His Lordship and Mr. Shepherd, who having reached the ridge, or rather the gap in it, by which the two sides of the island communicate, had contented themselves with a Pisgah view, and had left the others to pursue their journey through the wood below.

They report that there is not more flat ground there than here, and that there is no perceptible difference in the vegetation. They are enraptured with the wild beauty of the scenery, and have brought me many splendid flowers and shrubs, — the giant fuscia, andromedas, and myrtles; but above all, a lovely monopetalous flowering shrub: the leaves are thick-set, shiny green; the flower and berry of the richest purple. I never saw any thing like it. While we were sorting these in our dining-room under the fig-trees, the rest of the party joined us, reporting traces of recent habitation, such as fresh embers, and a horse evidently used for the saddle; so that, though we had not seen them, we concluded that there were probably some of the cowherds here, who on government account make charqui and cure hides for Valdivia; and this we afterwards had confirmed.

After dinner we went to the western side of the town, and there we admired the extraordinary regularity of the structure of the rocks,

and some curious caverns like those of *Monte Albano*. In one of the largest of these we found an enormous goat dead, which of course reminded us of "Poor Robin Crusoe." The island abounds in these animals; but though in my walk to-day I found the lairs of several, I saw nothing alive.

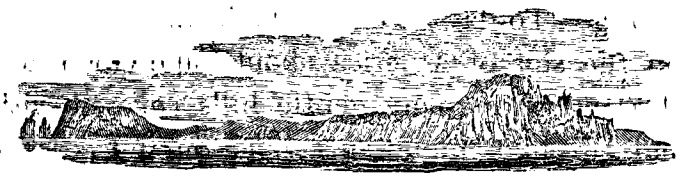
And now, just as we were going to re-embark, a man made his appearance, and told us that he and four others were stationed on the island, as we supposed, on account of the cattle, and that a cargo of charqui, tallow, &c., had recently sailed for Talcuhana: we imagine this visit was occasioned by the appearance of our party on the other side this morning. Some tallow and hides that the master of the vessel had taken on board, Lord Cochrane now paid for. After which I left Juan Fernandez, probably for ever.

27th. — The vessel was anchored so far off shore, that she dragged her anchor and chain-cable out to a considerable distance; the anchoring ground being almost as steep as at St. Helena. I remained on board, making sketches of the two bays; and the gentlemen went a-fishing, and brought on board a boat-load of the finest fish imaginable, both of known and unknown kinds. Of the known kinds the principal were some fine rock-cod and crawfish, the latter nineteen inches long.

28th. — Having completed our water we sailed from Juan Fernandez, highly pleased with our visit. Cattle, and wine, and vegetables, might be produced here to a great extent; but any nation that takes possession of it as a harbour would have to import corn. The island might maintain easily 2000 persons, exchanging the surplus beef, wines, and brandy, for bread and clothing; and its wood and its water, besides its other conveniences, would render it valuable as a port in the Pacific: as it is, our whalers resort thither continually. The three bays called the East, the West, and the Middle Roads, are all under the lee of the island, so that the water is always smooth; they are all well watered, and very beautiful.

Monday, February 10th. — Since we left Juan Fernandez we have had a tolerable run. The thermometer has not been below 40°,

though we are now near Cape Horn. My poor invalid is very ill, and confined to his bed.



Tuesday, February 11th. — This day, we came early in sight of the land about Cape Horn, which we doubled about sunset. There were mists and clouds overhanging the land; now and then we had fine sunshine, but oftener cold misty breezes. The coast is high and remarkable, especially about False Cape Horn, where there are several large conical hills; but we were not near enough to distinguish them very clearly. Lord Cochrane had landed here on his passage to Chile; and tells me he walked some hours in a delightful valley, in the month of November, full of beautiful evergreens and flowers. Very high mountains come near the sea, and even now, in autumn, the highest are covered with snow. The near hills are bold and precipitous; the cliffs of Cape Horn itself are white as chalk, and rise in fantastic spiry points, like the ruins of some old castle; and as the sun went down through the hazy air, they took fine glowing tints of gold and purple. The light just served us to see the inhospitable naked peaks of Barneveldt's Isles, or rather rocks; beyond which high mountain-tops peeped through heavy clouds. The names of Horne and Barneveldt preserve to the Dutch their seniority in the discovery of this easy passage into the Pacific. It was in 1616 that Le Maire, a native of Horne in Holland, first doubled this Cape, and by naming it after his birth-place, gave to that little town one of the most remarkable monuments in the known world. I am very well pleased to have seen the Cape; but I wished rather to have come through the Straights of Magellan, for the sake of the early navigators, Drake,

Cavendish, and others, whose adventures and sufferings give an interest to these savage scenes which their own desolateness, though grand in itself, could not inspire: for the same reasons, I regret not having seen Chiloe for Byron's sake.

12*th February.*— To-day we ran through the straights of Le Maire. The land on the side of America about Cape Good Success seems good and pleasant, with many gentle hills covered with grass and trees: beyond, are high mountains; and on the coast some abrupt rocks, and frequent harbours and coves. Staten Land on the east side of the straights, is so bleak and barren-looking, that I suppose it will be one of the last spots on the globe that will be inhabited.

The weather is chilly and uncomfortable.

14*th, off Falkland's Islands.*— This morning we found ourselves off the western Falkland Island. It is moderately high, and completely bare of trees, as far as we could see; but covered with short grass, and here and there patches of low green shrubs. The rocks appear to be all of sandstone in horizontal layers? where they dip at all, it is to the southward. The coast is surrounded by broken rocks, which stand up like the pinnacles of churches; and here and there natural gateways and windows, that put me in mind of the scenery of Holy Island on our own shores. There are many admirable bays, but all, are uninhabited. The Spaniards destroyed cruelly our settlement at Port Egmont; and they have been obliged to abandon their own, owing, it is said, to the severity of the climate, and barrenness of the land. But I imagine cultivation might cure both these evils; and nothing can be better situated than these islands for fitting ships destined for the Pacific. The thermometer has fluctuated to-day between 43° and 50°, and we have had snow and sleet; the barometer gives us from 29—15 to 29—20. The temperature of the sea-water 48°.

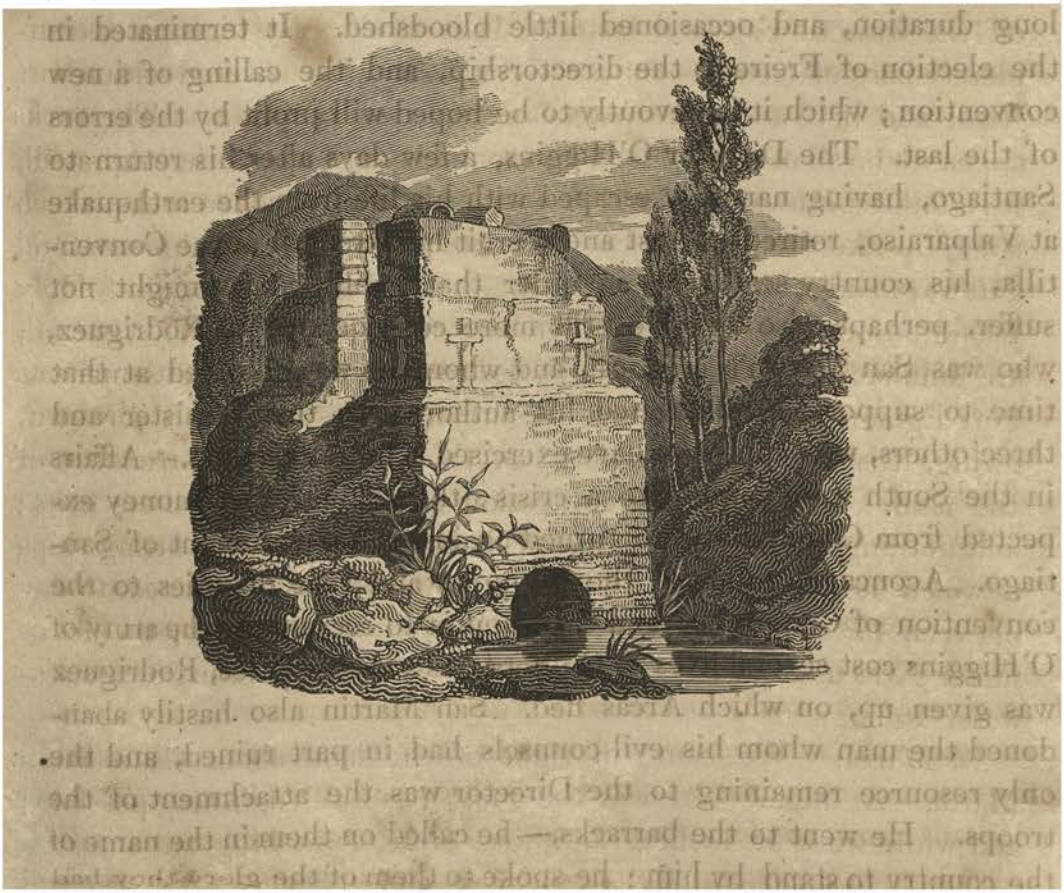
1*st March.*— We came in sight of the land about Cape Santa Marta. At night there was the most beautiful lightning possible; and while we were looking at it, we heard something fall into the sea like a heavy body from a height, at some distance from us; and

about half an hour afterwards Mr. J—— saw, and some of the others heard, a second body fall into the water. Could these be meteoric stones? The thermometer for some days not under 80°.

4th. — We are going slowly along the land, thermometer 82° morning and evening; 89° at noon.

9th. — Sailing along the land and among the islands of the bay of Santos, not one half of which appear in the charts. They are mostly high; many of them rocky, and many covered with palm trees. We have had the thermometer at 94°; but last night a thunder-storm and some heavy squalls of wind and rain have cooled the air.

13th. — We anchored in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro.



POSTSCRIPT.

THE civil war that had broke out before I left Chile was not of long duration, and occasioned little bloodshed. It terminated in the election of Freire to the directorship, and the calling of a new convention; which it is devoutly to be hoped will profit by the errors of the last. The Director O'Higgins, a few days after his return to Santiago, having narrowly escaped with his life from the earthquake at Valparaiso, retired to rest and recruit his strength at the Conventilla, his country seat; and in order that public affairs might not suffer, perhaps also to give still more consequence to Rodriguez, who was San Martin's creature, and whom he was resolved at that time to support, he delegated his authority to that minister and three others, who appear to have exercised it but a few days.—Affairs in the South were coming to a crisis: the soldiers and money expected from Coquimbo were turned against the government of Santiago. Aconcagua followed the example, and sent deputies to the convention of Coquimbo; and the attempt to recruit for the army of O'Higgins cost several lives in Quillota: as a last resource, Rodriguez was given up, on which Arcas fled. San Martin also hastily abandoned the man whom his evil counsels had in part ruined, and the only resource remaining to the Director was the attachment of the troops. He went to the barracks,—he called on them in the name of the country to stand by him; he spoke to them of the glory they had

won together, of his pride in their attachment. A very few, on this appeal, declared for the Director. Many said the cause of the country had been ruined by his measures; Freire was as well beloved as he, and had also been their companion and leader; and to crown all, the names of the Carreras were whispered in the ranks. He bared his breast, and told them since he had failed to satisfy his countrymen and fellow-soldiers, he offered them a life now little worth; and after one cry of "Long live the Director O'Higgins!" from his own guard only, he retired, charging them all to remain quiet, as he would not hazard the shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens; and this I believe was the last public act of that good though weak man.

He had been made the tool of a speculating trading company, through the influence of his mother and sister, and his fall was not surprising. He wished to retire to Ireland, the country of his fathers; but he has been detained under I know not what pretence of making him accountable for the treasury expenditures, and he was placed in the custody of Zenteno.

The army of Freire marched straight to Valparaiso, where it was joined by a small force by sea from Talcahuana. Hence it proceeded to the capital; not, however, so suddenly as to rouse whatever spirit of affection for the Director might have prompted resistance from the troops. Meantime the partizans of Freire and the enemies of O'Higgins made common cause: the old convention was dispersed, and the new one, consisting, however, of many of the old members, met, elected in a more popular manner. Freire long resisted the solicitations of all parties to assume the dictatorship, alleging his proclamations and avowed intentions only to remove bad ministers by his expedition from the South. But it was clear that O'Higgins would be no longer suffered. The country required some chief magistrate; and at length on the 31st of March, 1823, an official letter was presented to him, signed by the deputies plenipotentiary of Santiago, Conception, and Coquimbo, insisting on his accepting the office. Another was also written, appointing these three, *i. e.* Juan Egaña plenipotentiary for Santiago, Manoel Novoa for Con-

ception, and Manoel Antonio Gonzalez for Coquimbo, together with the new Director, and the secretary Alamos, as a senate, authorised to pass an *act of union*, and to bring together the conventions of the three divisions of the state. On the 1st of April, Freire accepted the office of Director, the Senate entered on its functions, and the Convention appears to have proceeded to business.

The revolution has been thus far conducted with unusual moderation and temper; a circumstance creditable to the leaders on both sides, and which will, it is to be hoped, continue to actuate the farther proceedings of the new government. I do not know better how to end this short notice of the changes that have happened since my departure from Chile, than by the following memorial, addressed to the new Convention, and signed by the members of the junta of government, which had exercised the supreme authority from the time of the abdication of the Director-general O'Higgins, to the meeting of the Congress, or rather till the new Senate was chosen: —

"GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES,

"The meeting of the representatives of the people in this august "assembly is the moment desired by the country, in order to apply "the necessary remedies to the terrible evils that afflict her; and "never was any administration in circumstances to desire reform "with such ardour as the junta of government at the present crisis. "You are about, Gentlemen, to regenerate the nation which misfor- "tunes, not easy to foresee, threatened to annihilate. Six years of "a government crowned with success in all its enterprises, respected "abroad, and at least feared at home, had given to the past directory "the power of doing good. To the fervour of military feeling, and "to the exaltation of the passions that accompany the first moments "of all revolutions, the calm of peace had succeeded. The people "had learned that its rights did not consist in the use of an unlimited "power, which, injudiciously exercised, would only plunge it into "anarchy; and that its solid happiness consisted in good order, and "in establishing guardian institutions, which, under the empire of

" law, might defend it from arbitrary rule. But by a misfortune
" which often attends the fate of nations, the government, which
" might have done the most good, wanted talent to accomplish it.
" Public discontent has broken through the barrier of oppression;
" and the passions agitated in this impetuous shock against the for-
" mer government, threaten ills which, if they be not stopped be-
" fore they become irremediable, will hurry the country to its ruin,
" and blot out the records of twelve years of glory and of sacrifices.

" To you, then, fathers of the people! it belongs to avert the con-
" fusion, the disorganisation, the dishonour of the country. This is
" the necessary and grand object for which you are called. The
" junta is not afraid to say it—Chile never was in a more dangerous
" state. Our revolution presents vicissitudes in which almost all the
" errors and inadvertencies of which the human mind is capable have
" been committed; but in a government always concentrated, and in
" the strict union of the citizens, the country found a defence against
" the misfortunes that threatened to overwhelm it. For the first time,
" we have this day heard the cry of *disunion!* a word even harsher to
" the hearts than the ears of true patriots. Prudence, and a generous
" contempt of petty interests, which are nothing compared with the
" general good of the state, and principles of exact equality and
" justice, alone will avert the disorders, the divisions, which might
" lead the people to curse the day when they shook off their peaceful
" slavery.

" It is nearly two months since the votes of our fellow-citizens
" called us to take upon ourselves the administration of affairs, and
" no one day of that short period has passed that has not been
" marked by some circumstance to aggravate the bitterness of our
" hearts. In presenting to you the political situation of the state, we
" direct your eyes to a picture of present misfortunes and of fears
" for the future, which fill us with shame, and which we would con-
" ceal, in order that the internal miseries of Chile might not be known
" abroad, if the evil called less urgently for redress, and if it were

" not in our own power to mend our fate, and to be respectable and " happy when we truly desire it.

" In the beginning of last November, Chile formed one indivisible " republic: the towns, distressed by the weight of oppression, with- " drew their obedience from the director of the state, and established " assemblies which might unite the representation of each respective " province. This generous effort, directed solely against the citizen " who governed arbitrarily, could not be a revolt against ourselves ; " it could not have had for its object to impugn the unity of the nation. " The Director, during the last days of his command, in order to " restore that peace to the country which he could not maintain, offered " to the representatives of Conception (who were said to act in con- " cert with those of Coquimbo), to abdicate his supreme direction of " the state which he had exercised, in favour of a person to be pro- " posed by them, in order that the change might not affect the " dissolution of the republic. The city of Santiago, ignorant of this " proposal, and which, besides, could not believe that the provinces " would accept offers from the chief against whom they were armed, " and of whose influence they were jealous, hastened to complete the " revolution, in order to unite itself with the rest of the nation.

" Permit, Gentlemen, to the junta a species of vanity which, " although the characteristic of weakness, is that which reflects least " on the reputation of honest men. Its members had the satisfac- " tion to believe, that by taking on them the provisional government " they might collect the will of the nation. The constant enemies " of despotism, and consequently of the late administration, fear- " less defenders of the rights of the people, and having given proofs " of their disinterestedness, they were persuaded that if the provinces " had taken up arms solely against the person of the Director, in " order to procure a congress, the deposing of the former and the " calling together of the latter would satisfy the general wish. Be- " sides, what evils had been suffered by Conception and Coquimbo " which had not been felt still more heavily by Santiago? What " advantages could they promise themselves from reform that San-

"tiago might not likewise hope for? Their evils were the same, "their wants the same, their circumstances the same, and the reme- "dies the same: in no one province could there exist separate "interests or separate views. Nevertheless, the junta had not the "folly to assume the supremacy without the consent of the other "towns. It indeed desired that the republic should continue entire, "and informed the provinces, that it was about to call a congress; "and that in the meantime it was necessary, in order to avoid the "appearance of anarchy, that a central and supreme authority should "exist; that it was in the power of the provinces themselves to ap- "point it provisionally to act till the meeting of the Congress; but "that as the election of the deputies to the Congress, as well as that "of members for the provisional government, must be a work of "time, it appeared better and more consonant to the despatch with "which the nation desired to call together its representatives, to ac- "knowledge the junta of government as a provisional government, "until the installation of the said Congress; for whose convocation "the assemblies of Conception and Coquimbo were consulted, in "order that the terms and time of election might be agreed on. The "answers of the provinces were contradictory: none were willing to "recognise the central authority of the junta of government, nor to "agree to the convocation of a congress, without first establishing "a new provisional government. We then perceived that the dreaded "evil was hanging over our heads — the immediate separation of the "different provinces of the state. In order to form a general go- "vernment, a centre of union to a republic, one and indivisible, the "junta opened negociations with General Freire and his deputies; "of which the minister will give a particular account. These were "in great part listened to, but remained ineffectual to the end, on "account of the full powers which the deputies from Conception de- "clared they had demanded from that assembly. To this day, the "provinces therefore are independent in fact; and a deputation from "the assemblies of Conception and Coquimbo have but now arrived "in this capital, with ample powers to bring about the re-union of

" the nation. The junta does not consider these provinces, any more " than Santiago, as sovereign and independent states. It looks on " them as *a fraction of the nation*, whose magnates and representa- " tives, occupying the command in order to preserve order during the " dissolution of the former government, are now treating of the " means to re-establish the union of the republic.

" Meantime the province of Santiago, as far as the Cachapoal, ac- " knowledges, tranquilly and willingly, the authority of the junta of " government. The districts of Colchagua and Maule obliged, ac- " cording to the representations of their cabildos, by the force of " circumstances, had united with the province of Conception. Ex- " horted by the junta to re-unite themselves to the province of which " they had always formed a part, Colchagua returned to her ancient " position; while Maule, in consequence of an order from the as- " sembly of Conception forbidding the measure, adheres to that " province. On this head General Freire seconded the wishes of the " junta, declaring to these districts his acquiescence in their re-union " with Santiago. Curico has always proclaimed its constant attach- " ment to the government of the province, which has now suffered " no other loss than the dismemberment of the territory of Maule.

" The example of provinces separated from the *indivisibility* of the " state, of districts divided from the provinces, of municipal govern- " ments elected under a variety of forms, has been fatal to internal " quiet, much more to our external relations; and will be incom- " parably more so in the course of time, as factious ideas spread " and become familiar. Nothing is more certain, than that nations " are often so mistaken in their ideas of freedom as to embrace in " her stead a monster, the certain forerunner of slavery. Various " towns have shown symptoms of that disorder, the last degree at " which public misfortune can arrive. In Casablanca a meeting of " the people took up arms against the lieutenant-governor. In Quil- " lota some discontented persons offered to Chile, for the time, the " lamentable spectacle of the blood of the children of the soil shed " in her streets in a civil dispute. In other places the junta has suc-

" ceeded in checking intestine dissensions by means of gentleness and
" prudence.

"The outworks of good order once saved, the government neces-
" sarily felt its weakness; for without obedience, and the effective
" co-operation of the subjects, it is impossible to make use of the
" only means it has of managing the body politic. The towns
" threaten with separation or confederation as it suits them. Private
" citizens fancy that they exercise the supremacy that resides in the
" people every time that they meet, and attempt a revolt. The public
" functionaries, vacating and fluctuating between doubts and fears of
" sudden change, do not act with the vigour requisite to prevent the
" ruin of the community. The subaltern no longer obeys his superior,
" whose authority he considers as temporary, and therefore easy to
" escape. In such circumstances, without freedom and without
" power, what could the administration do? The nation was *de*
" *facto* divided into three separate sovereign states, who each go-
" verned itself, without either agreeing or consulting with the others:
" all affairs of general interest, all that belonged to the body of the
" republic, was abandoned, to the disgrace and ruin of the country.
" Peru, Gentlemen, is the most piteous and most interesting object
" which can come before our eyes. The liberating army, composed
" of the conquerors of Chacabuco and Maypu; that army whose
" transport to give liberty to the empire of the Incas had cost Chile
" such enormous sacrifices, has been beaten by General Canterac.
" Peru must once again crouch under the yoke of irritated and
" wicked Spain, if Chile, to whom our unhappy brethren now
" stretch forth their supplicating hands, do not administer a prompt
" and efficacious succour. Not only the general interest which en-
" gages us to support the cause of independence, not only humanity
" and the faith of treaties, but our own proper salvation, impels us
" to the assistance, to the defence of America, in that last theatre of
" war. Defending Peru, we defend Chile and the whole continent on
" her ground. Who ever doubted that the most noble, most useful,
" and most necessary pledge that the country has at any time con-

" secrated to liberty, was that defence? The junta decreed it, after " having consulted the general authorities of the state: but the want " of a supreme central government formed an obstacle to the enter- " prise, that is to say, to the salvation of our existence.

" It is impossible to conceive a situation more deplorable than that " of the public exchequer. More than a million of urgent immediate " debt; more than 40,000 dollars in advance for absolute necessaries " at the moment; and a monthly list four times greater than the " actual receipts of the treasury;—offer a picture of almost desperate " wretchedness. The minister of this department will lay the parti- " culars before the Assembly. To establish a new system of finance, " to reform abuses, to reduce the expenses to a just proportion with " the receipts, are steps which require the concentration of the " government.

" A ruinous loan, which must fetter the nation and its resources " for many years, calls for the attention of government, either to re- " move from us, if possible, the weight of this insupportable burthen, " or to render its consequences less fatal. Every day augments the " debt, and our responsibility becomes the heavier. Consider, Gen- " tlemen, how urgent a motive this is to accelerate the concentration " of the government.

" The national squadron, that squadron to which we indubitably " owe the destruction of tyranny, is now laid up in our ports; where " the ships are either gone to ruin, or, by continual waste, are ap- " proaching it. Meanwhile its officers, who have so often covered " themselves with glory in the Pacific, are on half-pay; or, being mostly " foreigners, are leaving us daily, a loss irreparable in the hour of " danger. A central government, making a proper use of the resources " of the country, might restore it to the brilliant footing of 1820. " Now a single province, inadequate to such an expense, must be the " sad spectatress of the annihilation of the main force of a nation " whose foe is beyond seas.

" Among the enterprises which the Director particularly had de- " termined on, was the occupation of Chiloe. This archipelago is

" not only an important part of Chile, which ought to be united to " the rest of the nation; but the enemy having possession of it, it " furnishes a serious and continual subject of alarm, and renders the " war of Valdivia interminable. The continual expense demanded " by the land and sea forces to cover that point to which the enemy " calls continual attention, is well worth the effort, once for all, of " destroying that last refuge of tyranny in Chile. By a new popular " sacrifice, an expedition against Valdivia had been concerted; which, " by the preparations for it, and the bravery of our troops, ought to " have ended the continental war. Our political movements have " rendered this enterprise abortive. Great part of the garrison re- " turned to Valparaiso; and although the junta, in concert with " General Freire, had sent back the necessary force to Valdivia, " Chiloe continues under the Spanish yoke, and is a point whence " tyranny in its last act of desperation, and with the important assist- " ance it has received, may renew the scenes of 1813, organising " and directing on the continent armies which may subdue us. A " general government might revive the expedition to Chiloe, and blot " out the disgrace from the country of still suffering a foreign enemy " to remain within its limits.

" Our external relations subsisting on the same footing as in July " last, although they give us no fresh motives of affliction, remind " us that our misfortunes must bring with them the dishonour of " Chile, and the loss of the credit acquired so dearly during twelve " years. In Europe there was no want of confidence in the fate of " America. The union and the consistency of our governments " were justly looked upon as the best security for our independence; " and Spain, in order to keep back the European powers from the " solemn recognition of our independence, used no other means " than those of representing us as plunged in anarchy. In America " the reverses of Peru will be remediable from the moment we are " united; and the junta, after having gained time here to renew our " relations with Columbia and the trans-andine states, has exhorted

" them in the common danger to the defence of Peru. The minister " for foreign affairs will lay before you the steps taken for this end.

" Gentlemen, our institutions and internal administration do " not offer a very consolatory picture. Not one but needs reform; " and if the happy destiny of the country should place at its head a " genius capable of directing her, all must be erected anew. Edu- " cation, the base of national prosperity, is in the most deplorable " state.

" Neglected, not to say abandoned, without encouragement, with- " out a plan, we feel the consequences of the evil in our daily pro- " ceedings. The administration of justice demands important " reformation; or rather, it demands an entire new system, agreeable " to the progress of the age, and to the rights of recovered humanity, " in order to place us on a level with that nation on whom we for- " merly depended, and whose barbarous and destructive usages we " have preserved without profiting by the amendments that she her- " self has lately made. The police, absolutely abandoned in all its " branches, no longer exists, any more than any other establishment " of public utility, either for the advantage of commerce, mining, in- " dustry, or agriculture.

" Our military force is entrusted to General Freire, an officer who in " fourteen years of uninterrupted services, and of glorious actions, the " pride of the nation, has proved his patriotism and his moderation. " If the proceedings of the junta had not been so frank and open; if " the testimony of conscience did not assure its members that they " had done for the good of the country all that honour, justice, and " policy demanded; if in the eminently difficult circumstances in " which it was constituted, there had been any other road to pursue; " — it might have feared the weight of a responsibility which it could " not have borne. — When the directorial government expired, Ge- " neral Freire was the citizen who enjoyed the public favour. He " was, besides, the only man who could curb the exalted passions, and " the evil effects, the political illusions, arising from ill-understood and " ill-applied principles: in short, he was the man who was to rescue

" the nation from the fangs of the anarchy which threatened to over-
" whelm it; and procure for his country the happiest and most bril-
" liant destiny. Never mortal saw himself in a situation to render
" more important services to the country to which he owed his
" birth, the theatre of his exertions and his glory. His voice, heard
" with the liveliest emotions of pleasure from one end of the re-
" public to the other, was to be the signal of re-union for the whole
" nation, under a government as respectable and vigorous as that
" which had passed away, and as free, just, and beneficent as we
" had a right to expect. In this conjuncture he presented himself
" in Valparaiso at the head of an army, and of an expedition which
" had sailed from Talcahuana, after having received communications
" from the junta assuring him of its cordial support, of the abdi-
" cation of the Director, and of the unanimous wishes of the nation.
" This act, which perhaps might have been considered by some as an
" indication of a conduct hostile, or at least equivocal; as marking
" exorbitant pretensions, founded on the strength of arms; as want-
" ing in respect to the government, without whose authority, and
" even without a pretence, he had brought an army into the territory
" it ruled; — surprised the junta, but did not alarm it. Why distrust
" the man whose modesty and the liberality of whose principles
" were so well and so generally known? Why draw back from the
" citizen in whom the country placed its hopes, and to whose virtue
" it was willing to trust its fate? He was invited to Santiago: he
" was called to the meeting, whose object was the general good of
" nation. We assure you, Gentlemen, that we have omitted no
" means, proposals, or efforts, in order to avail ourselves of his in-
" fluence in healing the public dissensions. He demanded the com-
" mand of the army of the province of Santiago, and it was granted
" him as a proof of our unlimited confidence, as a guarantee of our
" uniformity of sentiment; and on condition of acknowledging the
" authority of whoever should receive that command, that we might
" not be wanting to the duties imposed on us by the people, when,
" together with the government, they entrusted us with the force

" destined for its defence, and made us responsible. On perceiving " that without establishing a central junta, the chief, who called him- " self the general of a province independent *de facto*, transported " thither the troops of Santiago; on observing that officers were re- " moved, and others named, without consulting the junta, and even " against its will; — it made such representations as appeared suitable " to its duty and its dignity. The ministers of state will lay before " you the correspondence that took place between General Freire " and the various public offices: in it you will find that the General " had declared solemnly and formally, that *neither he nor the army* " *are subject to the junta; and that he does not acknowledge in it any* " *authority whatever over the military, the sole, independent, and* " *exclusive command of which belongs to himself:* in it you will " also observe, that on this account the preparations for sending " troops to the immediate assistance of Peru were suspended; an " evil which, among the many existing, has not been the least that " has harassed the better days of our administration.

" If the junta has not been able to preserve strict harmony with " General Freire, we strongly recommend to you, Gentlemen, to en- " deavour to accomplish that desirable end: do not forget that he is " the only man who can save the country, — and rely on his disin- " terestedness. Call him to your bosom, and may you be happier " than we, in inspiring him with confidence, and erasing impres- " sions which savour of provincialism and dangerous principles! Let " not the evil-minded, or those who are led by personal interest, or " the giddy and the weak, triumph, and tear away the laurels of peace " destined for the citizen who shall restore his country, oppressed " by internal grievances, to prosperity.

" If General Freire, by keeping the independent command of the " army, sought to avoid the horrors of civil war, the necessary con- " sequence of anarchy; if his object was to prevent the dissolution of " the army; if, with all the forces of the republic at his disposal, he " sought to preserve his influence and dignity, only in order that he " might place himself in a situation to procure the immeasurable be-

" nefit of ending strife; if he makes use of his credit and his influence " to restore the republic immediately to its former unity under a su- " preme and energetic government; if, with his forces, he does not " remain an indifferent spectator of the public misfortunes, or allow " the provinces to plunge into endless disputes about theoretical " rights; if in the best way in which circumstances will permit, and " with all possible provisions for the security of liberty in the mean- " time, he concurs in establishing a provisional government until the " meeting of the General Congress which shall in full liberty dictate " the permanent constitution of the state; — he will have pursued a " policy as sublime as beneficent, and will be in every sense the de- " liverer of his country.

" Such is the general picture of our public affairs: and your labours " will be as arduous as important. A thousand improvements, a " thousand useful provisions, would have been dictated by the junta, " if its vacillating authority, the political situation of the state, and " its attention, directed exclusively to the union of the nation, had " not opposed insuperable obstacles. Perhaps we have been mis- " taken; perhaps error may have presided over many of our deliber- " ations, — it is inseparable from human nature: but pardon, Fathers " of the country! pardon faults which certainly have been committed " without tainting the general disinterestedness and patriotism on " which we pride ourselves. God grant that our authority may be " short, in order that you may accomplish as speedily as possible the " establishment of a supreme government. Reason, experience, and " public opinion, all agree that the executive power ought to be " trusted to one alone. Relieve us from a burthen which oppresses " us; and let this be the reward of an administration, whose labours, " difficulties, and grievances, have exceeded both our time and our " strength.

" Augustin de Eyzaguirre.
" Jose Miguel Infante.
" Fernando Ezrazuris.
" Mariano de Egaña."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A brief Relation of Facts and Circumstances connected with the Family of the CARRERAS *in Chile; with some Account of the last Expedition of Brigadier-General Don Jose Miguel Carrera, his Death, &c.*

BY MR. YATES.

DON JUAN JOSE, Don Jose Miguel, and Don Luis Carrera, were the sons of Don Ignacio Carrera, who was the descendant of an ancient and honourable line of ancestors. His sons were destined for the service of their country; and were at an early age entered as cadets in the Spanish service. Don Jose Miguel was sent to Europe, as the war in the Peninsula was considered to be the most promising school for the acquirement of those qualifications which are most necessary to complete the character of an officer and statesman.

Having arrived in Spain, his merit soon recommended him to the consideration of his superiors; and in reward for his zeal, assiduity, and attention to the service, he was promoted by the regular gradations of rank to be lieutenant-colonel and commandant of a regiment of hussars.

At this time the revolution in America had begun to wear a favourable aspect. Buenos Ayres had solemnly declared her independence; and Chile (though apparently without a person capable of conducting her in so arduous an undertaking,) seemed willing to throw off the long-worn and galling yoke of the mother country. Carrera, anxious for the success of Chile in particular, and desirous of lending his arm in the cause of American emancipation in general, took the earliest opportunity to transport himself across the Atlantic; which he effected with some difficulty, owing to the distrust which was then generally entertained in Spain with regard to the loyalty of the American officers in her service.

Previous to his arrival in Chile (about the year 1811) some attempts had been made towards the abolition of the Spanish authority. Carasco, the Spanish President, had been deposed, on a pretence of his incapacity to serve the Spanish monarch. The government was assumed by a Cabildo and President, all of whom were Americans, and enemies to the tyrannical system which had hitherto been observed and followed; but as they were entirely destitute of the abilities which were necessary to enforce the execution of their plans, and unequal to the power with which they had invested themselves, they were obliged to follow the old form of government; professing to take a lively interest in the welfare of their Spanish sovereign and his dominions, whilst they were really his most inveterate foes.

Such was the state of anarchy in which Don Jose Miguel Carrera found Chile on his arrival: without an army, without a navy, without funds, or any preparation whatever towards carrying on an inevitable and sanguinary war; the necessary effect of the steps which they had already taken. His country entertained the highest opinion of the virtues and abilities of Carrera. He was considered as the only person who could be found capable of extricating the state from the snares of that labyrinth into which it had incautiously plunged itself.*

In order to effect this he was trusted with the supreme authority of President of the Congress; and also nominated general to command an army which did not yet exist, but of which the immediate formation and organization were looked to as the only guarantee of success and future safety to the new state.

It is not difficult to imagine the many inconveniences attending the levying an army designed to operate against the established authority, in a country more remarkable for its bigotry and superstition, than for virtue, liberality, or patriotism; and whose inhabitants, notwithstanding the servile and humiliating yoke under which they lived, were taught by their priests, that any attempt against the person or interests of their prince was an infringement on religion itself, and consequently contrary to the divine will of Heaven.

However, having great influence in the country, Carrera undertook to

* In this early part of this paper the reader is requested to remember that it is the party and family history of Carrera, and that the truth is more nearly that which is related in the Introduction; I have thought it right, however, to print it unaltered in any way. — M. G.

silence the zealots, and set Chile free at any expense. He commenced by dedicating his fortune (which was very considerable) with those of his relations and friends to the cause of independence, thereby supplying the defect of a public fund. He began to recruit for his army, paying to each soldier a premium on his entrance, as practised in European nations; a method never used in America but by him. From the most respectable citizens he selected officers; who were indeed ignorant of all military knowledge, but whose characters, probity, and well-known attachment to their country, made ample amends for all other defects. The regiments thus organized were well clothed, armed, regularly paid, and disciplined under his own immediate inspection. Carrera was colonel of the dragoon regiment of national guards, general inspector of cavalry, and commander-in-chief of the national forces. His elder brother, Don Juan Jose, was colonel of grenadiers, and commandant of all the infantry; and the youngest of the three, Don Luis, commanded a regiment of artillery which had garrisoned Santiago, in the time of Ferdinand VII. but had been prevailed on to espouse the cause of independence, and follow the banners of Chile.*

It may be necessary to observe here, that the general head-quarters of the Spanish troops in Chile has generally been in the province of Penco, the capital of which is Conception. The troops which were in that garrison in the beginning of the revolution, were Americans by a great majority; and were, by the liberality of the inhabitants of the town, and the promises of the American officers amongst them, easily prevailed on to revolt and deny all future allegiance to the Spanish monarch. Thus far the revolution was unstained with blood; but a circumstance soon after occurred which menaced the country with the horrors of a civil war. The inhabitants of Conception asserted, that it was better adapted for the seat of government than Santiago, as it had a communication with the sea, and many local advantages favourable to commerce, &c. &c. Carrera endeavoured to convince them of the impropriety of such a measure; but finding that his arguments were not likely to dissuade them, he adopted other means. He opened a negociation with them; in which it was stipulated that the army of Conception, then encamped on the southern bank of the Maule, should not pass that river, nor that of Chile make any advance, during a certain time. Before the expir-

* There were only fifty soldiers of any kind in Santiago before the revolution. This statement is very wrong. — M. G.

ation of the time fixed, emissaries had been sent to the army of Conception by Carrera: by their generous offers matters were amicably adjusted, a reconciliation and coalition of parties was effected, and the enterprise of removing the seat of government to Conception was totally destroyed.

The Spaniards having received reinforcements from Lima, Chiloe, and Coquimbo, began to concentrate themselves in the south of Chile, in order to oppose the progress of Carrera, who was not remiss in his preparations to meet them. He nominated a Vice-President in his absence, and marched to encounter them with the united forces of Chile and Conception. An infinity of actions, sieges, and skirmishes succeeded, in which the Americans, though little experienced in war, were generally victorious over their oppressors.

It was in these guerillas that Don Bernardo O'Higgins (now Supreme Director of Chile) first distinguished himself. His father was a native of of Ireland, who had served some time in the English army; but not meeting the attention or preferment which he considered as due to his merit, he resigned, and passing to Spain, received an appointment in the army of that country; from whence he accompanied an expedition to Chile, where he evinced so much intrepidity, prudence, and application, in a war against the Indians, as induced His Catholic Majesty to create him a brigadier of his service, and captain-general of Chile. He discharged the duties of these high offices to the general satisfaction of his king and the people. He did not neglect the education of Don Bernardo, who was but a natural son by a woman named Isabella Riguelme, whose morals (it is said) were not altogether irreproachable. He was sent to England when young, where he continued some time in an academy or college. At the commencement of the revolution he resided on a farm which was bequeathed him by his father. His military rank was captain of country militias; but, in consequence of his extraordinary courage and serenity in several actions against the Spaniards, Carrera promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the army of the line, as an encouragement to valour among his officers. O'Higgins continued to merit the esteem of his general, and almost every action brought him new honours: he attained at last the rank of brigadier-general; and Carrera placed in him as much confidence as he did in either of his brothers.

Subsequent to these flattering marks of favour and distinction with which he had been honoured, Carrera and his brothers were shut up in the garrison

of Talca (if I recollect rightly), and besieged by the Spaniards; the town was assaulted and taken; and the Carreras, with all the officers of the garrison, were made prisoners.

The whole command of the army now devolved on Brigadier-General O'Higgins; who, instead of taking the necessary steps to procure the enlargement of Carrera his chief, by exchange or otherwise, seized on the favourable opportunity of assuming the civil power, and caused himself to be proclaimed President: in these proceedings he was supported by the officers and soldiers of Conception, his native town. Brigadier-General M'Kenna (who was afterwards shot in a duel by Don Luis Carrera) was appointed as second in command to O'Higgins. The city was governed as before, by a Vice-President, whilst the new President remained in front of the enemy. He was making vigorous preparations to carry on the war, when his attention was called to a quarter he least expected.

The Carreras having procured and distributed money among the Spanish soldiers who guarded them, were allowed to escape; of which O'Higgins being apprised, he offered a reward for their apprehension and delivery to him. However Carrera, from his popularity in the country, had little to fear from such a rival. He proceeded towards Santiago with his brothers, disguised as peasants; and on his arrival in that city, he requested of his brother Luis to have himself discovered that he might be made prisoner, at the same time assuring him that he would liberate him that very night. Luis acted accordingly. He entered a tavern; and calling a peasant, gave him some money, and desired that he would go and inform the town-major, that he could guide him to the house in which Don Luis Carrera was lodged: the countryman made some remonstrances; but being ordered peremptorily he obeyed, and soon returned with a guard, which made Luis prisoner.

In the meantime General Carrera, having an unbounded confidence in the soldiers whom he once commanded, introduced himself disguised (by being inveloped in a large cloak) into the barrack of the artillery; and on being challenged by the sentinels, he answered that he was Carrera; upon which the officers and soldiers crowded round their proscribed general with enthusiasm and approbation, swearing to stand or fall with his fortunes. He ordered them to form, and immediately marched at their head to the plaza, liberated his brother Luis; and as soon as his arrival in the town was known, he was joined by all the detachments in the garrison, and congratulated by all the citizens, who reinstated him in his former power.

O'Higgins, on being acquainted with all that had happened, thought proper to prefer the gratification of private animosity to the safety or good of the public in general. He abandoned his station in front of the enemy, and with his whole force marched towards Santiago, to wreak his vengeance on his greatest benefactor, — on the man who had raised him from amongst the undistinguished multitude, to act in a sphere so far above his expectations!

Carrera being advertised of the redoubled marches of his rival, despatched deputies to meet and expostulate with him on the impropriety of having left the country unprotected and at the mercy of the Spaniards; and also to propose the union of their forces, and joint exertions to expel their common enemy (who profited by their disunion); after which they could at their leisure decide their private disputes either by the fortune of war, or by the general suffrage of the people in favour of one or the other. As O'Higgins, with the exception of a few detachments, had the whole of the veteran forces under his command, he rejected with contempt these proposals of Carrera; who making known to the citizens of Santiago, and the peasantry of the country, the issue of the negociations with O'Higgins, they saw that there was no alternative left between submitting to an usurper, or preparing to reduce him to subjection by force. The latter was unanimously agreed to. The citizens enrolled themselves in corps with alacrity; the country militia assembled; and being united, they marched out with Carrera to meet O'Higgins, and by a battle decide their fate.

Carrera's men were badly armed, and ignorant of service; their antagonists were soldiers disciplined, and already accustomed to conquer.

Carrera chose a position on the plains of Maypu, which he fortified, and there waited the arrival of O'Higgins, who did not long detain him. The two armies being in front of each other, O'Higgins, having disposed his troops for the assault, commanded the charge, and led his soldiers on with his usual bravery. Carrera waited the shock of the enemy in his entrenchments, and on their near approach he opened on them a heavy fire which caused them to retire; they were pursued, and called on to surrender by the peasants of Carrera, who had given orders not to take the lives of any of the fugitives. The soldiers of O'Higgins, as if intimidated by the idea of their disloyalty to their chief, laid down their arms, and were generously received and forgiven. O'Higgins and his principal officers were made prisoners, and experienced the clemency of the conqueror. The spoils of the field were divided amongst the victorious volunteers; and the vanquished, from O'Hig-

gins down to the meanest soldier, were amply remunerated by Carrera for the loss of their baggage, &c.

After they had considered themselves prisoners for a few hours, the scattered remains of those corps (which but just now were his enemies) were incorporated in a division with their own officers, and, what is still more surprising, with O'Higgins himself at their head. This division was appointed to act as van-guard to the army; and O'Higgins thus reconciled, and obliged not only for his employment, but for his life, to Carrera, after receiving his instructions, marched to possess himself of a post which he was ordered to occupy in order to check the enemy.

Carrera, ever frugal of the blood of his country, endeavoured by unexampled generosity and clemency to engage those in his favour who, according to the laws of war, of society, and of nature itself, had justly forfeited their lives: but he unfortunately miscarried in his attempts to disarm his enemies by these laudable means. Noble actions can only shed their influence on noble minds, and are but lost on the envious and ungrateful. Nevertheless, Carrera's noble forgiveness of so great a crime on this occasion throws a brilliant light on that disinterested magnanimity and humanity which characterised the actions of his public life. Though he had repeated instances of the ingratitude of those whom he had served, yet he was not the less ready to extend his generosity or protection to all friends, or enemies, who stood in need of it.

The Spaniards profited by the domestic dissensions of Chile. The strength of the army was much reduced by their strife, and the army of Carrera was obliged to take refuge in Rancagua; which the Spaniards besieged, assaulted, and after a defence of forty-eight hours, without intermission of fire, the town was taken for want of ammunition to defend it longer. In this action the patriots were obliged to supply the place of grape-shot by dollars, which they fired from their artillery at the close of the second day.

The remains of the army which escaped the fury of the Spaniards passed the Andes, with General Carrera and his brothers, O'Higgins, M'Kenna, Benevente, Rodriguez, &c., and a vast number of respectable citizens, to seek an asylum amongst the patriots of the Provincias del Rio de la Plata; from whence, after recruiting their army, they expected to recross the Andes, and again dispute the fate of Chile with her oppressors.

After a short residence in Buenos Ayres, Carrera, who was without funds, saw that it would be impossible for him to effect his plans. He therefore pro-

ceeded to the United States, from whence he expected to derive some assistance: in which he was not disappointed, being furnished with five armed vessels, in which he embarked seventy English and French officers (not including the naval officers who came employed in the vessels); arms, ammunition, and clothing, accoutrements, &c. for 12,000 foot; sabres, pistols, &c. for 2000 cavalry; with a great number of artizans of different denominations, their necessary implements, &c. &c.

He concluded a treaty of commerce with the Congress, in which it was agreed that the duty on American imports in Chile (when liberated) should pay the debt incurred in fitting out the expedition alluded to; and when paid, the duties were to continue at a certain rate per cent., as stipulated in the treaty. Whether this money was advanced to Carrera by the government of the United States, or by a certain number of the members of Congress, I know not. Having thus formed a connection which he considered respectable, he departed for the Pacific ocean, where his operations were to have commenced.

In the meantime the conquest of Chile had been meditated by Pueyrredon, governor of Buenos Ayres: nothing less than the universal extension of his influence over the United Provinces, and Chile, would gratify the ambition of this monopolist of power. He well knew Carrera's character, though gentle, was not passive; and therefore he resolved to appoint O'Higgins as President of Chile, being, as he considered, a more apt instrument to facilitate his private views. San Martin was the general appointed to lead the expedition into Chile which was then raising in the province of Cuyo. The brothers of Carrera, who had remained in Buenos Ayres, were denied the gratification of accompanying this expedition to their native country, and had strict injunctions not to leave Buenos Ayres, where they were confined on parole.

Carrera, unconscious of the treachery which was designed against him, put into Buenos Ayres to take in fresh provisions, some troops and officers which he had left there, and to inform himself of whatever might have transpired relative to his country in his absence, previous to his passing the Cape to commence hostilities in Chile. No sooner did he arrive, than his vessel was seized by the government, himself and his officers made prisoners on shore; but they afterwards put Carrera on board a gun-brig in the river, as a place of greater security. His brothers saw the imminent danger which surrounded them: they escaped from Buenos Ayres; and, disguised in the

apparel of muleteers, expected to reach Chile undiscovered. But in Mendoza they were betrayed by a servant, apprehended, cast into a dungeon, and loaded with irons, by order of San Martin; from whence they never went forth, till called on to resign a life already made too loathsome by the tyranny of their oppressors.

Three of the vessels of the squadron of Carrera entered the Rio de la Plata; and on being informed of his imprisonment, they put to sea again, and returned to the United States.

By the connivance and humanity of the officer to whose care Carrera had been committed, he escaped in a boat which two officers had provided for that purpose: the commander of the gun-brig, to prevent suspicion, fired several guns after him, and ordered some boats to pursue him; but not before he was certain that he could not be retaken.

Carrera, after some hours' sail, landed safely at Monte Video, and presented himself to General Le Cor, governor of the town, who received him with that kindness and respect which were due to his misfortunes and rank.

Pueyrredon carried on a private negociation at this period with the Portuguese court at Rio de Janeiro, relative to the delivery of the Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata to a prince of the house of Bourbon (Principe de Luco), reserving for himself a lucrative and honourable place in the state after the political regeneration it was expected immediately to undergo.

Carrera ingratiated himself so far with his Portuguese friends in court, that he not only was informed of the very important business transacting there, but also furnished with copies and most authentic documents of the whole proceedings.

Pueyrredon had much to fear from Carrera's situation and residence in Monte Video, and demanded of the Portuguese an order that he should be delivered prisoner in Buenos Ayres, from whence he had escaped. Carrera was acquainted of this by his friend, who recommended him to hold himself in readiness to depart for Panana (a town in the jurisdiction of Artigas), in case the order should be granted against him; assuring him that he would give him notice, and time for his escape. A few days after, the order was received for his apprehension in Monte Video; and on being informed he departed, and with some difficulties reached Entre Rios.

Ramirez, who was governor of that province, under Artigas, received Carrera hospitably, espoused his cause against Pueyrredon, and became his decided friend. Soon as Artigas knew that Carrera was in his territory, he wrote to Ramirez, ordering him to secure him, and send him to his head-

quarters on the frontier of the Brazils. The order came too late; Ramirez, though a stranger to him, had become his friend, and could not think of delivering his friend to destruction. He put the letter into Carrera's hands, requesting he would direct him in so intricate a situation, and assuring him that he would sooner meet all the resentment of Artigas, than be guilty of delivering him. Carrera told him not to fear Artigas; and devised a plan by which Ramirez might establish himself, independent of Artigas, in the government of the province of Entre Rios for the present, and afterwards perhaps might supersede him in the government of the Banda Oriental. A palliating letter was written by Ramirez to Artigas, stating that Carrera was a patriot, a friend of his, and that he stood in much need of his talents in the prosecution of the war against the Porteños, or Buenos Ayrians. Artigas thought it unavailing to use menaces to enforce his orders at such an immense distance, and therefore affected to acquiesce in the request of Ramirez; not doubting that an opportunity might soon occur more favourable to the execution of his ungenerous designs against a man already too unfortunate. Artigas's hatred to Carrera originated in an idea that Carrera, by his superior abilities, might supersede or supplant him in his government of the Banda Oriental.

Some time had elapsed since San Martin and O'Higgins had crossed the Andes; they had already gained some decided advantages over the Spaniards in Chile. The news of the battle of Maypu; the death of his two brothers in Mendoza, and that of his father in Chile; the confiscation of all their estates and properties; the declaration against them, the Carreras, as being traitors to their country, and to be proceeded against accordingly;—all came to him the same day: add to this catalogue of misfortunes, the imprisonment of his lady, Doña Mercedes, and Doña Jabiera, his sister, in Buenos Ayres.

The popularity of the Carreras in Chile appeared so glaringly to San Martin, that he resolved to end the existence of Don Juan Jose and Don Luis, whom he had left in Mendoza, lest they should escape, well knowing that in Chile he could hold no competition with them. He therefore sent an order to Luzuriago, governor of Mendoza, intimating the advantages that would accrue to the state from the immediate execution of the Carreras. Luzuriago, whose military preferment and admission into the honourable orders of new nobility established in Chile and Buenos Ayres, depended on his promptitude in assassinating those whom his employers would point out for victims, quickly put into execution the mandate of his fell master.

The Carreras were conducted to the public plaza, to gratify the envy, ambition, and revenge of a base tyrant. They died! But they suffered death

with such unshaken resolution, as astonished their savage executioners, and excited the pity and tears of their more feeling beholders: they refused to admit the officious assistance of the priests who were appointed to attend them; and walking arm in arm to the place of execution, they embraced each other most tenderly, recollected their absent brother in a very affecting manner, at the same time expressing a thought, that if he still lived he would undoubtedly avenge the wrongs and vindicate the fame of his most unfortunate brothers. Then seating themselves on the bench, and again embracing each other, they requested of the soldiers to despatch them: the soldiers fired, and they fell, clasped in each others arms. Thus died the Carreras, whose only crime was, that they loved their country too well, and were too much beloved by their countrymen!

After their death, the form of a trial was drawn up by a lawyer, in which they were found guilty of having left Buenos Ayres without a passport, in order to circulate sedition in Chile. This most ingenious trial was published in Buenos Ayres, Chile, and all parts of the United Provinces, in order to hide the deformity of a most horrid violation of the common rights of individuals, and of mankind in general. This mode of trial, however rare it may have been before, has since that time been but too common in *America Independiente*. It is a most excellent plan; for the dead speak not, and the evidences are always such as to meet the entire approbation of the executioners.

A bill of costs was presented, by order of His Excellency General San Martin, to Don Ignacio Carrera, in which he was charged with all the expenses arising to the state from the execution of his sons; viz. gaolers' fees, plank and nails used in the seat on which they were shot, cordage (with which they were not tied), powder, ball, &c. &c. The aged and unfortunate father, whose property had been already confiscated, except a small allowance, discharged this unheard-of species of debt, and expired in a few days after!

Colonel Don Manuel Rodriguez, an officer of Carrera, who passed to Chile before the expedition of San Martin, and raised a force in the country, by whose influence and exertions San Martin was enabled to subdue Chile, was still more basely assassinated, because he was a known friend to the liberty of his country.

General Carrera had brought with him from the United States several printing presses; one of which had by some means escaped the general ruin: he had it in Entre Rios, where he lost no time in publishing manifestos of his

transactions and services during the revolution. His defence was ably stated, and in the sequel proved that he and his brothers were not traitors to their country, as had been declared by his enemies; but that those enemies were, or wished to be, traitors. He stated, and made appear from the most authentic documents, the treaty which existed between Pueyrredon and the Portuguese court relative to the delivery of the United Provinces. These manifestos were distributed by his friends through the whole country. The town and province of Buenos Ayres began to distrust the patriotism of their Director and his Congress: they saw the justice which actuated the Federalists or Montoneros in their threatened invasion of the provinces, and looked forward to them rather as their deliverers than as enemies.

Pueyrredon was sensible of his danger, and made timely preparations to meet it. General Belgrano, who commanded the army of Peru (then in Tucuman), was ordered to accelerate his marches towards the confines of Santa Fé and Cordova, where the first scene of action was anticipated.

Ramirez and Carrera, finding the minds of the Porteños to be in a proper mood for their reception, crossed the Parrana, and hostilities commenced in the province of Santa Fé, where many actions were fought, all of which redounded much to the credit and valour of the Federalists. All the posts which the Porteños held were taken with slaughter; and the remains of their army, under General Balcarse, took refuge in the town of Rosario, where they were besieged about fifteen days; and, fortunately for them, some vessels had come to receive them previous to the assault of the town. In these vessels they embarked with great disorder, losing many soldiers, their artillery, and baggage; they sailed down the Parrana, and disembodied at San Nicholas; Viamon, who was general-in-chief of the Porteños, was taken prisoner in this campaign.

The Federal army now completely victorious over the Porteños, marched towards the river Carcarañá, on the frontiers of Cordova, to encounter the celebrated army of Peru under General Belgrano, who had established his head-quarters in the Cruz Altra, a small town or village on the Cordova side of the Carcarañá. Here guerillas were blazing unceasingly at each other day and night, without any decisive advantage to one party or the other. Belgrano's army was highly disciplined, accustomed to the dangers and privations of war, and had a desire to come to a general engagement, as they were much fatigued with the incessant toils, vigilance, and partial dangers inseparable from a soldier in front of his enemy; but he was too prudent to hazard all his hopes in a general action against troops already considered

invincible, and wished to await reinforcements in his present position before he would venture an attack: his soldiers became impatient, and desertion began to threaten his army with total annihilation, whilst the deserters passed over to the Federalists, and strengthened their lines.

The publications of Carrera were privately distributed and read in Belgrano's army; protection was offered to all officers, soldiers, provinces, &c. who should wish to throw off the oppressive yoke of the metropolis, Buenos Ayres. Many persons of rank and distinction in the country who were persecuted for their political tenets, flocked to the Federal standard, and found an asylum beneath its influence. Thus the Federal army became more formidable every day, and the knowledge of a revolution in Belgrano's army was what saved him from an attack in his intrenchments.

Such were the prospects of the campaign, when the second in command, Don Juan Bautista, Coronel Mayor of the national forces, and General of the auxiliary army of Perú, fired with ambition, and anticipating the mutinous spirit of the soldiery, headed the revolution, and declared for the Federal army, requesting of Carrera and Ramirez to have him nominated to the government of Cordova, professing the highest veneration and attachment to his new allies, and his readiness to assist in forwarding their views, and the good of the country in general.

Ramirez was of opinion that Bustos should be sent to Entre-Rios, and the army taken by himself and Carrera, and some other person, more worthy their confidence, appointed to the government of Cordova. But the idea was too ungenerous for Carrera: he believed the professions of Bustos, and had him appointed to the government. This army consisted of about four thousand veteran soldiers, seven hundred of which were Chilenos, and to be delivered by Bustos to Carrera, clothed, armed, &c. whenever he should demand them.

The officers who had honour enough to detest the proceedings of Bustos, and did not wish to remain in that army, were permitted to retire whither they thought best; they were but few who retired. Belgrano was imprisoned by the Porteños for an event which he could not foresee or prevent. He was in his youth a lawyer, and became a soldier in the revolution. Belgrano was the most able, honourable, and meritorious officer the Porteños ever boasted; and it was certainly a pity that his exertions were not employed in a better cause than the extension and support of a tyrant's authority.

Before we proceed, it may not be amiss to notice slightly the birth of His

Excellency Don Juan Bautista Bustos, governor of the province of Cordova. According to the religious institutes of Catholic countries, monks or friars are not supposed to extend their affections to any thing beneath the dignity of the church, the blessed Virgin, or some other heavenly chimera; but that they have their weaknesses, and, like other men, are sometimes led aside from the paths of virtue, we have a living and unequivocal proof in the person of Don Juan Bautista Bustos, who was the son of a friar: his mother was indeed a slave; but she was one of the prettiest Mulatas in Cordova, so famed for that cast. She was afterwards purchased by the friar by whom she had many children. As Cordova is the seat of science and literature in America, it is very natural to suppose that Bustos imbibed some tincture of both. He served in the Spanish army as cadet; and it is further said, that he particularly distinguished himself in Buenos Ayres, in 1807, against the English. However that may be, Bustos is certainly a brave man, and his military promotions have been gained in the field by his merit: nevertheless, he is ungrateful, cruel, intriguing, and perfidious.

Buenos Ayres now saw herself divested of those succours in which her confidence and security were founded. Santa Fé was lost, Cordova no longer recognised her authority; and the army of Perú, which was expected to conquer her enemies, now was foremost in asserting the rights of the provinces. The communication with the province of Cuyo was intercepted, and there were reasons to fear, that that province would follow the example of Cordova, whenever circumstances would be favourable to it. Thus deprived of all its resources, Buenos Ayres saw, in its most dreadful shape, the impending storm which was gathering over her head, and promised to crush her to the dust: the day of retribution seemed fast approaching, in which she should receive the punishment which was due to her insidious perfidy and unbounded ambition. In this lamentable dilemma, Pueyrredon and *his congress* turned their eyes unanimously towards their champion San Martin, *the immortal and invincible hero of San Lorenzo, Chacabuco, and Maypú*, as the only person who could deliver them from the hands of their enemies.

San Martin had crossed the Andes, and was with his grenadiers, dragoons, and Cazadores, in Mendoza. The army of the Andes, which San Martin commanded, belonged to Buenos Ayres. His obligations to Pueyrredon were, or ought to have been infinite, for having selected him, from amongst many who possessed greater merit, to fulfil the office which he held; but he had cunning enough to foresee that the Federal army was superior to his

own in every point of view: he saw the danger to which he would be exposed if he attacked them, and therefore wisely shunned it, thinking with Sir John Falstaff, (whom he also imitates in his love of the bottle,) that "discretion is the better part of valour." The savage wished to cloke his cowardice under the mask of humanity and patriotism, and for that purpose issued a proclamation, expressing how extremely repugnant it was to his feelings to shed the blood of one single American: that it was his only wish to carry the sword of his country against its common enemies, the Godos or Spaniards: — he prepared to cross the Andes, resolved to put the army under his command at the disposition of the government of Chile. On his presenting himself in Chile, these forces underwent an alteration of titles: they were styled by Buenos Ayres, Exercito de los Andes, ó Exercito de Buenos Ayres; but were now called Exercito de la Republica de Chile. Thus did this modern hero, this Washington of South America, not only fly from the government which had elevated, distinguished, and protected him in the moment of danger; but also robbed her of those forces which some nobler spirit might have led to rally round the ruins of their falling state. A desertion, fraud, and cowardice worthy of San Martin, and of him only.

I should be extremely sorry to insinuate any thing derogatory to the character of *so great* and *illustrious* a person as San Martin; but if it is admitted that conscience sometimes damps a man's courage, — surely no person could be more likely to fear from its accusations than His Excellency. He must have recollected how much easier it was to gratify his brutal revenge on Carrera's brothers in a dungeon, and loaded with shackles, than it would be to meet him at the head of an army, determined to conquer.

By his orders, the most notorious infraction on the rights of war and humanity, perhaps, that is recorded of any country having pretensions to any degree of civilisation, was perpetrated in San Luis by his friend Dupuy, the lieutenant-governor of that town. After the battle of Maypú, all the officers taken prisoners in that action had been sent to San Luis, and recommended by San Martin to the particular attention of Don Vicente Dupuy, the lieutenant-governor. They were about fifty in number, including General Ordoñez, Colonels Riberos and Murgado, and other field officers. Every Sunday the general and field officers presented themselves to Dupuy, with whom they generally dined and passed the night in playing at cards, &c., &c. Dupuy, either from a malevolent and blood-thirsty inclination (as some sup-

pose), or in obedience of orders from his master (which he afterwards in his trial endeavoured to prove), conceived a horrid plan of assassinating all the prisoners in the town, with the Spanish residents and officers. Accordingly on the night of the 7th of February 1818, General Ordoñez, Colonels Riberos and Murgado, and the officers of the general's staff, were invited to Dupuy's, and highly entertained; the night as usual was passed over the cards, and at break of day Dupuy, impatient to commence his sanguinary undertaking, violently seized on the money which Riberos had won during the night, and which was placed on the table before him.

Dupuy knew the high and unyielding temper of that meritorious officer, and supposed he would attempt to strike him in the moment he had been guilty of that breach of decorum; he had a number of orderlies, or assassins (as we shall here consider them synonymous terms), in waiting, ready to rush forth on the first alarm. Riberos acted with a patience and sang-froid, to which he had heretofore been a stranger. He recollected that he was but a prisoner of war on parole, and the aggressor was an *absolute tyrant* and a *governor:* he therefore calmly remonstrated with him on the impropriety and baseness of the action of which he had just been guilty, telling him that if he availed himself of the authority invested in him as governor for acting in such an ungentlemanly manner, he found himself, from his circumstances, obliged to allow it to pass unnoticed; but that if it were understood in any other light, no man should insult Riberos and pass unpunished. Dupuy declared that he only availed himself of the authority of a gentleman, not that of a governor, and stood up at the same time by way of defiance. Riberos, now, not only considered himself justified in chastising his insolence, but obligated to do so; and in contempt of the intreaties of his companions he knocked down Dupuy by a vigorous blow on the face. The confederates of Dupuy, then at the table, flew with one accord to a corner of the room, in which was deposited a quantity of arms for the purpose. The officers seeing their danger, followed the same example, and in a moment every person in the room was armed.

It is not difficult to suppose that veteran officers accustomed to brave dangers, overawed these vile assassins, who were only active in their profession when secure from danger, or screened by the darkness of night. They stood motionless before the officers, who immediately secured the door, as the guards, prepared without, were entering the court yard. Dupuy and his gang being enclosed, and unable for the present to receive any assistance from his friends

without, thought it best to capitulate: — he pledged his word and honour to the officers, that if they would permit him to go out, he would pacify the tumult in the street, and bury in oblivion their mutual resentment. The officers acceded to this proposition. Dupuy went out, and telling the mob that he had escaped from the Godos who were in revolution against the town, he caused the drums to beat, and trumpets to sound the "*General*," which, seconded by the cries of "Down with the Godos," announced to the unfortunate officers that the fatal hour of their massacre was come.

The gallant Riberos, who considered himself the cause of that general misfortune, exhorted his companions to sell their existence at the dearest rate possible, but they saw the inutility of seven officers opposing themselves to the rage of an incensed rabble; and expected, by offering no resistance, to find mercy amongst their butchers. Riberos finding them unwilling to acquiesce in his first proposal, insinuated that each Spaniard ought to fall by his own hand, but his comrades shrunk from the idea of suicide. The assassins began to fire, and advanced on the house. Riberos bid farewell to his companions, and exclaiming, "*Un Americano indecente jamas quitterá la vida de Segundo Riberos*," he finished his existence by discharging the contents of his pistol in his head: the remaining six threw down their arms, and were without resistance despatched by the ruffians, who immediately went all through the town assassinating every Spaniard individually in their houses or in the streets.

This scene of barbarity commenced about seven o'clock in the streets on the 8th of February, 1817. Only two Spaniards escaped their search, the one died insane from the terror of that day, the other still exists in the convent of San Lorenzo, province of Santa Fé.

Ordoñez, whose body was covered with wounds received in the French war in defence of his country with fifty officers, many of whom were Spanish noblemen, perished on that day by the hands of the merciless assassins: the number of residents of the town who died, is not known; twenty-seven soldiers, prisoners of the Federal army, were also suffocated in a dungeon the same day.

Thus did Dupuy gain a memorable and signal victory over these brave though unresisting officers and soldiers. Prodigies of valour and patriotism were performed by his officers on this occasion. An official letter was despatched to Buenos Ayres, stating the imminent danger of the Patria from the insurrection of fifty Godos, isolated from all intercourse with their friends

by a distance upwards of five hundred leagues, and surrounded by enemies on every side. The Patria, thus delivered from her enemies, could not do less than reward her sons. Pueyrredon, who never allowed this kind of merit to pass unrewarded, decreed, that each officer of Dupuy should be presented with a medal at the cost of the government of Buenos Ayres, with the date of the memorable event, and some appropriate insignia engraved on it. Dupuy was promoted to be Coronel Mayor of the national forces, and a member of the legion of merit, in recompence for his activity.

This, perhaps, is the first example of an infamous clan of ruffians being honoured with, or daring to assume a distinction only due to merit, as the demonstration of their prowess in the horrid and detestable crime of assassination!

The Federalists, who had nothing to fear from the enemies in their rear, directed their marches towards the province of Buenos Ayres, leaving Bustos (whose army was now called the third division of the Federal army), in the province of Cordova to observe the operations of the interior provinces.

The known resentment of Carrera and Ramirez to Pueyrredon made it necessary for him to retire from the government in Buenos Ayres, as the Federalists would enter into no treaty whilst Pueyrredon was director. He was obliged to resign, and was succeeded in the government by Brigadier General Don José Rondeau. This change in the administration did not satisfy the Federalists; the congress still existed, and they would listen to no terms of accommodation whilst it did.

Rondeau, who had acquired some credit in the campaigns of High Perú, availed himself of his popularity by persuading chosen detachments of civicos and country militia to accompany him with the veteran force then in Buenos Ayres, to the frontiers, to meet, and stop the progress of the Federalists, whose numbers were much reduced by having sent some of their force back to Entre-Rios, and leaving parties in several towns in their rear. The troops under Rondeau were about three thousand, those of Ramirez were at most nine hundred, including about forty northern Indians.

It was evening when the contending parties discovered each other, and as it was late, and the Federalists fatigued with marching, it was determined to defer the attack till the next morning; but soon as the night came on, the Porteños, notwithstanding the great superiority of their numbers, put themselves in march, in order to retire to San Nicolas. The Federalists pursuing them, and harassing their rear, which was much encumbered by carts and

baggage, they found it impossible to effect their retreat. However, they sustained their Guerillas, and continued their march, in order to possess themselves of a strong and advantageous position on the Cañada de Cepeda. On arriving there they halted. Their infantry, amounting to twelve hundred, formed a hollow square, the front of which was covered by their numerous carts, with artillery at proper intervals; the flanks, or right and left faces of the square, were strengthened by cavalry; and the rear face of the square was protected by the Cañada on which it was formed. In this position the Porteños remained till morning, when Ramirez in person reconnoitred the ground, and a little after sunrise every thing was ready for a general attack. The charge was sounded, the Federalists advanced sword in hand, with a terror-striking courage, at full speed of their horses, amidst a heavy fire of artillery and musquetry. The cavalry of the Porteños, accustomed to trust more to the fleetness of their horses, than to the keenness of their swords, could not resist the charge, but fled in disorder, leaving their infantry abandoned. Rondeau himself was one of the first to fly. The fugitive cavalry were pursued with great havoc, whilst a corps de reserve of 150 men remained in observation of the infantry.

The grass was extremely luxuriant, and rather dry by the intense heat of the season: it caught fire from the artillery, the breeze augmented the flames, and in a few minutes the camp appeared in a dreadful conflagration.

The loss of the enemy's waggons, artillery, &c. was inevitable; they marched through the marsh in their rear, and gaining an adjacent lake, remained there during the time the fire continued to rage, which was about three hours; the breeze then lessening, and the Federalists returning from the pursuit of that part of the enemy which had fled, the fire was by their exertions almost entirely extinguished.

The situation of the enemy's infantry was the most pitiable which can be conceived; without cavalry to sustain them, without refreshment of any kind, not knowing the moment in which they might be engaged by their victorious enemies, and at least six or seven leagues distant from San Nicolas, the only post in which they could reasonably indulge a hope of being able to defend themselves. However, they were still in number much superior to the Federalists, and the spirit and courage of the three officers who commanded them was almost equal to the difficulty and danger of their situation. Balcarse, who commanded in chief, was summoned to surrender, but refused with great resolution; he formed his men in close column, with parties of

light infantry on the flanks, and in that posture of defence began his march for San Nicolas. Ramirez formed his cavalry in column of divisions in order to attack him, and they must undoubtedly have perished, were it not for the interposition of Carrera, who had two objects in view, which impelled him not to concur in the attack on the column: — first, amongst the infantry of the enemy he knew there were six hundred Chilenos, who being the bravest would in all probability have been the first to perish. These soldiers he expected in a few days would be his own, and by destroying them then, he would have deprived himself of those men with whom he afterwards terrified his enemies. Secondly, he knew that veteran soldiers led by brave chiefs would dispute each yard of ground with an obstinate courage, and that many of the Federalists would necessarily fall in reducing them, which would cause a suspension of operations for some time, as the Federalists could not recruit their army without returning to Santa Fé or Entre-Rios; which would give time to the government of Buenos Ayres, to make new preparations. Such were the causes which made Carrera consider that a victory over this column of infantry would be too dearly bought.

They harassed the rear of the column for a few leagues, many soldiers from excessive fatigue were obliged to throw themselves on the ground, and give themselves up to the parties which hung on their rear. — Colonel Major Balcarse, and Colonels Rolon and Vidal commanded the infantry. Their spirited resolution and good dispositions for their defence did them as much credit, as the shameful flight of the Director, Rondeau, did him dishonour. As only nine hundred infantry entered San Nicolas, their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, may be computed at 300.

The Federalists continued their march towards Buenos Ayres, leaving a small force in the vicinity of San Nicolas and San Pedro to observe the operations of the enemy.

Rondeau with one of his aides-de-camp escaped from the field of battle, and arrived in Buenos Ayres about 4 o'clock the following morning. As they supposed themselves the only survivors of the expedition, they declared to the Congress the dreadful destruction which their cavalry had suffered, and which they supposed it altogether impossible their infantry could have escaped.

About 7 o'clock in the morning a proclamation was published in all the streets, announcing to the people the dismal reverse of fortune which the Patria had just sustained; and the total loss of her son's horse and foot, in the battle of Cepeda, the governor "alone having escaped to tell them." This

proclamation was more adapted to prepare the minds of the inhabitants to bear with a meek and Christian resignation the vicissitude under which they had fallen, than to rouse them to any new exertion for the defence of their capital. No immediate preparations were made by the government. Nothing but fear and consternation reigned in the town; they even had the absurdity to believe that the body of the Federal army could advance with the rapidity of a courier and enter the city that night. It is remarkable that this was the first, and almost the only occasion on which the government of Buenos Ayres acknowledged a defeat of their forces; although their arms were attended only with a series of uninterrupted misfortunes, owing to the ignorance or cowardice of the commanders of their expeditions. Although they had lost all the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, Santa Fé, and all the towns of High Peru; yet the gazettes were filled with fictitious and imaginary details of their victories, and plausible excuses for the necessity of sending such frequent reinforcements were given to the public. This last misfortune extorted from them not only a full, but an exaggerated description of their loss.

However, two days afterwards an express arrived from San Nicolas with despatches from Balcarse. Their veteran infantry still existed! A proclamation was immediately published, in which the former report of Rondeau was flatly contradicted. It was true, indeed, that the Director and his aid-de-camp, with all the cavalry, were pursued five leagues; nevertheless the army rallied afterwards; in fine, "their fellow citizens and soldiers were covered with immortal laurels, and the enemy defeated."

The first confession was believed by the people to be genuine; it was the only government news they had believed for a length of time. They, accustomed to hear nothing from their press but falsehood and deception, consequently found themselves under the necessity of learning to judge for themselves. It was known that the Federalists were advancing on the town; and the inhabitants could not conceive how an enemy could receive such a defeat as the Congress would fain make it appear they had, and still continue to advance.

The object of this last proclamation was to raise a contribution to pay the civicos, in order to put them between the Congress and her danger. The design did not succeed. The people had a right idea of their imbecile and corrupted governors; and looked forward with anxiety to the hour which would free them altogether of their oppressors.

In this very unfavourable state of affairs, the government recollected the services and abilities of Don Estanislao Soler, whom they had long neglected, and discarded from their notice; and who lived on his little farm in the country, unregarded and obscure. Soler had been a brigadier-general, and had merited and received the approbation of his country, in the campaign of the Banda Oriental, and siege of Monte Video.

In times which did not promise so rich a harvest of honour, the candidates for power in Buenos Ayres were numerous; but on this occasion the fear of danger seems to have completely superseded the love of glory. There was not a man who would offer himself for his country. Soler was summoned by the Congress, on which he immediately waited, and was solicited by them to receive the command of whatever force could be raised. With this request he complied, without insinuating or perhaps recollecting their former ingratitude.

The opinion of the public in favour of Soler was so great in Buenos Ayres, that he was congratulated by every class of citizens, on his return into office. In a few days he raised about 3,000 men to accompany him to the field, and established his head-quarters at the Puente Marco, seven leagues from Buenos Ayres. The Federal army was encamped at Pilar, distant from Puente Marco eight leagues. An armistice was concluded for fourteen days; but before any further propositions should be made for peace, the Federalists required that the Congress should be dissolved; which order Soler intimated to them, and the town had the gratification to see that assembly dismissed.

The provinces of Tucuman, Salta, Santiago del Estere, Catamarca Arioja, and San Luis, encouraged by the example of Cordova, and protected by the Federalists, declared themselves independent of Buenos Ayres. Dupuy was superseded, cast into prison, and brought to trial for the massacre of the Spaniards, and various cruelties and assassinations. He was entirely void of that resolution which he so often had put to the proof in others; the crimes of which he was accused were committed under the eyes of the town, and even his judges were witnesses of his barbarity: he therefore could not do otherwise than acknowledge the crimes laid to his charge; but he alleged for his defence, that he was but a subaltern, and obliged to execute the orders of the captain-general of the province of Cuyo, Don Jose San Martin, who was his immediate chief. He produced the written orders of San Martin for the assassination of Rodriguez, Raposo, and Conde; these orders were very

laconic, stating nothing more than—"Don Fulano will pass through the town of San Luis on such a day: he has my passport; receive him politely; give him whatever assistance he may stand in need of, — but, take care that he pass not the wood on the other side San Luis. — *Prontitud y silencio, asi conviene la bien de la Patria!*" He made it appear, that previous to the departure of San Martin, he had, in conversation with him, received a verbal order for the massacre of the Spaniards, lest they should take part with Carrera.

Frivolous as this defence was, it had some weight with the pusillanimous and ignorant court by which he was judged. They were accustomed to tremble at the name of San Martin, and could not divest themselves of fear. They dreaded a vicissitude in their affairs by which San Martin might be enabled to reassume his authority; in which case they would be responsible to him if they acted by his favourite as his crimes deserved. Thus the sentiments of fear overbalanced those of justice; and the tyrant who had a thousand times forfeited his vile existence by his viler deeds, was only sentenced to be transported in irons to La Arioja; from whence he escaped, and followed his master to Lima, to inform him of the wonderful metamorphosis of America beyond the Andes. San Martin received him with the regard due to an able and faithful assistant in his iniquities, and appointed him to the command of the Castella de la Independencia in Callao.

After the dismission of the Congress in Buenos Ayres, the supreme power was invested in the Cabildo, over which presided Don Pedro Aguirre Alcalde de Primer Voto. The treaty of peace now commenced; and after a few days' negotiation, overtures were agreed to and signed by the stipulating parties. The articles of the treaty of Pilar were as follows, viz. —

"That the war carried on by the Federalists against the government of "Buenos Ayres and her allies in the United Provinces was just, in every "acceptation of the word; and had for its principal object and end, the "emancipation of America in general, not only from her foreign, but also "from her domestic, yoke, which was still more galling and illiberal.

"That the many petty governments and independent states bordering on "each other were inimical to, and incompatible with the peace, good order, "and prosperity of the nation; war being inevitable whilst each petty "governor had exorbitant and avaricious desires to gratify, and a military "force under his command.

"That a Federal government was the most effectual preventative against

" these disorders, by uniting all the finances and forces of the nation under " one Director or President, to be elected in the most just and constitutional " manner.

" That an assembly should be elected in each of the Federal provinces by " the free and unbiassed votes of their constituents. From each of these " assemblies, one or more deputies (according to the population of the pro- " vince which they represented) should be nominated as members of a " general Congress, which should meet at the convent of San Lorenzo, in " the province of Santa Fé (being the most central situation), seventy days " subsequent to the date of the treaty; when they were to select from " amongst their own body, the President before mentioned; and enact such " general laws as would be deemed most salutary for the public. That there " might not remain a shadow of oppression in this convention, all military " forces should be distant at least twenty leagues.

" That in consequence of the vast extension of the territories included in " this treaty, local circumstances, qualities, and properties peculiar to each " province, must be admitted to have a particular influence on its laws and " customs; hence, it became necessary that each should be governed by " laws established by its own assembly, the laws enacted by the Congress " only tending to the general utility of the provinces collectively.

" That the finances, and all the forces of the nation, should be exclusively " at the disposition of the President and Congress. No particular province " should raise, organise, or train soldiers or militia, but by orders of the " supreme government; and when such soldiers or militia were so organised " or trained, they should be liable to be commanded to whatever part their " presence might be most necessary.

" That Don Manuel Saratea should be nominated Governor of Buenos " Ayres for the time being, and till the will of the assembly of Buenos Ayres " should be further known.

" That the Federal army should retire from the province of Buenos Ayres, " by divisions not exceeding two hundred men each, for the greater conve- " nience of supplying them with provisions, &c. in their regression; the first " division to march in three days from that time, and the number of days " between the marches of the succeeding divisions not to exceed eight."

Saratea quietly took possession of his office according to the treaty. Circular letters were despatched to the different provinces requesting the attendance of their deputies, at the time appointed.

Carrera had various solicitations from the most respectable citizens of Buenos Ayres to accept of that government. Ramirez also told him that it was impossible to place any confidence in a people who were so long their enemies, whilst a Porteño ruled them; and advised him to become governor, strengthen himself with troops worthy his confidence, and revenge the indignities and wrongs he had sustained. Had Carrera directed his views to ambition, and not to the good of his country, it cannot be denied that he had then an excellent opportunity of aggrandising himself: but he aspired not to an unbounded or extensive authority over his countrymen; his exertions were directed only to Chile, and for her welfare, — he had not a wish beyond her narrow precincts.

He hoped to see established a most liberal form of representative government, and waited with impatience the assembling of the Congress at San Lorenzo, where his eloquence, his abilities, and the uprightness of his conduct, would have opened for him the most effectual and direct road to redress his wrongs, and punish those who had endeavoured to defame his character and oppress his country. Had the Congress met, it was supposed that they would have furnished Carrera with every thing necessary for his expedition to Chile, which (after its regeneration) would have been united to the confederacy.

America, thus united, under any chief capable of conducting her operations, would very soon have changed her aspect of anarchy: the political chaos would have been superseded by an organised and regular government, which (though it could not be supposed to have been perfect in the moment of its formation) would at least have had the most flattering form, and in all probability would have been the foundation of future greatness to America.

Balcarse having procured transports at San Nicolas embarked his troops, and came down the river to Buenos Ayres. It was late in the evening when he landed; and marching immediately to the Plaza he formed his corps, collecting all the field-officers and captains to the centre, where he began to harangue them on the vile submission to which their once glorious city and its territory were reduced; protesting that he was still ready to rescue them with his force from the hands of their enemies, and restore them to their former greatness.

Soler, French, Pagola, and several others of the officers of the new government, were present; but they did not consider the time or place well adapted for entering into a defence of the late measures, or discussing the merits or failings which might be attached to them: they retired as soon as

propriety would admit. The eloquence of General Balcarse had the wished-for effect on his military audience: they were proud of his abilities, and not entirely blind to their own merit, as they supposed there was much due to them from their conduct at Cepeda. After some specious promises of pay, &c., officers and soldiers agreed to follow him; and the next morning he was acknowledged in the Cabildo as captain-general of the province, &c. &c. The Cabildo could not with safety resist Balcarse; their votes were forced, the hall being filled with officers, and the front of the Cabildo and all parts of the Plaza lined with soldiers, who were ready to act in case of any difficulty arising to their general.

Saratea, Soler, Bellino, French, Pagola, Martinez, and all the officers of Buenos Ayres, except those of Balcarse's two battalions, went out to Pilar, where Ramirez still remained with two hundred men: I was one amongst those officers also. We remained in Pilar two days, in which time we were joined by a vast number of citizens of Buenos Ayres, who had followed Saratea and his officers, thereby showing their attachment to his government.

With a body of two hundred soldiers, as many officers, and a motley group of citizens, we commenced our march to Buenos Ayres, and in two days we arrived in the suburbs of the town. That night, Carrera and Ramirez, with a guard of forty men, entered Buenos Ayres, and were immediately joined by the artillery, dragoon, and grenadier regiments. The civicos and the greater part of the citizens joined us in the Corrales de Miserea the same night.

Balcarse, seeing that all the citizens and soldiers (except his own two battalions) had deserted him, shut himself up in the fort: his soldiers, who a few days ago had sworn to support him, now saw it was utterly impracticable to do so, and meditated the surrender of the castle. However, the walls were manned by some parties who kept up a fire on a few soldiers who amused themselves galloping in front of them. Balcarse, Rolon, Vidal, and a few others, escaped by a private door which led to the river; where they embarked in a boat, first possessing themselves of 14,000 dollars which were in the public coffers, in order to defray their expenses at Monte Video, or wherever their adverse fortune might drive them.

Soon as the flight of the governor and his principal officers was known in the fort, a flag of truce was sent to the Federal generals, offering to surrender, and requesting pardon, which was granted: the castle gate was thrown open, the troops marched out, and formed in the line of Soler. The government

and all its affairs were again arranged on the plan previously described in the treaty of Pilar.

The town being perfectly tranquil, Ramirez retired to the Santos Lugares, where he encamped during six or seven days. Carrera remained in Buenos Ayres with Saratea, who permitted him to draw all the Chilian soldiers from the regiments in which they served; and of these an hussar regiment was formed by Colonel Benevente and a few officers, having for their barrack a large country seat, about a league out of town.

Alvear, who had preceded Pueyrredon in the government of Buenos Ayres, thought this a proper time to return from his banishment; and, on his arrival in Buenos Ayres, he was arrested by Soler. Alvear had served with Carrera in Europe, where they lived together on terms of intimacy; and that intimacy was again renewed in the time of Carrera's residence in Monte Video. In consequence of which Carrera had him released and enlarged in Buenos Ayres.

As Alvear was the first who formed the corps of Buenos Ayres on a respectable footing, and the only Director who ever paid them for their services, he found little difficulty in causing a revolution amongst them. The troops all assembled at the retico in the suburbs, where they declared Alvear General, and deposed Soler.

The civicos, under their favourite Soler, took arms against Alvear and the regulars; who retired from the city, and came to our encampment, expecting that Carrera would give his sanction or assistance in favour of this revolution. Ramirez was on his march for Entre Rios; where his presence and his forces were likely to be very necessary, as Artigas was directing his marches towards the frontiers on Entre Rios. We were also about to march the day following for Santa Fé, where Carrera designed to encamp during the winter season.

Alvear requested of Carrera to return to the town, and have him recognised as General of the Portenian army: Carrera refused to take any part in his revolution; but told him that if he were obliged to fly, he might come to him, and that he would protect him. The troops of Alvear seeing that Carrera would not support them, thought of abandoning Alvear and throwing themselves on the mercy of Soler, who had marched out after them with civicos. A few subalterns headed them, and next morning on parade usurped the command; and telling the rest of the officers that it was optional with them to follow their respective battalions or remain with Alvear, they began their

march to return to Buenos Ayres. Alvear requested of Carrera to impede their retreat; but he repeated his determination not to compromise himself for the affairs of another, and Alvear's corps retired unmolested.

Alvear, seven colonels, and forty-seven officers, including lieutenant-colonels and majors, followed our regiment, with their servants, and a few soldiers, who would not return to Buenos Ayres.

Ramirez continued his march to the Entre Rios, as we did ours to Santa Fé. Nothing in the march occurred worthy of notice. We encamped in the Rincon de Gorondona, an angle of land formed by the confluence of the Carcaraña and Parrana, covered with wood, and affording good pasture for our horses and cattle. Alvear's officers, who were under our protection, formed their encampment about a league below ours, on the bank of the Parrana. Ramirez passed over to the Bajada, where he was received with every demonstration of joy by his countrymen.

In our encampment we remained two months; during which our soldiers were trained to the cavalry exercise, charge, and manœuvres. Two gun-brigs, with some gun-boats, came up the river, conveying arms, ammunition, clothing, and money, to Carrera, for our regiment: the arms, ammunition, and clothing, which were remaining, together with the gun-brigs and boats, were presented by Carrera to Ramirez, the officers and men still continuing in them to serve Ramirez in the river.

About this time a captain came to our encampment with letters from Colonel Dorego in Buenos Ayres, informing Carrera, that by a revolution of Soler, Saratea had been deposed, and the inhabitants reduced to a more miserable state than ever. Soler had declared himself captain-general of the province, marched to Luxan, with his new-organised troops, formed an encampment about one mile distant from that town, where he disciplined his corps, and obliged the Cabildo in Buenos Ayres to lay a weekly contribution on the people for the regular payment and support of his military establishment. A French officer also arrived with correspondences from Chile, soliciting the speedy assistance of Carrera in co-operation with his country, in order to sustain a revolution which had been set on foot immediately on hearing that he was at the head of a force. As it was too far advanced in the season to cross the Andes, the revolutionists were obliged to desist, and a distant relation of Carrera gave information of the plan to O'Higgins; in consequence of which several persons of the highest respectability were sent into exile in different places, and forty of the principal officers concerned were

sent to New Granada, in irons, with letters to *Bolivar*, informing him of their offence, and offering him the indemnification of the state of Chile for whatever costs might be incurred by keeping them secure in prison. These officers were attached to their country's liberties; and though that was a crime in Chile, in Columbia it was the best recommendation they could produce. Instead of being continued in irons, they were immediately released from their tyrannical oppressors who bore them thither, supplied with every necessary in which they stood in need; and such as wished to join the service of Columbia had their appointments directly. In answer to the official letter of O'Higgins, Bolivar returned, that he would provide for the comforts and safety of the unfortunate officers remitted to him as well as lay in his power, without receiving any remuneration from the state of Chile; and also, that if meritorious Americans were found to be either a burden or a trouble in Chile, he requested they might be always sent to Columbia, where they should find a secure asylum; adding, that the blood of worthy citizens and soldiers had already sufficiently stained the United Provinces and Chile. This reply of Bolivar seems to have sounded rather harshly to the ears of a government only accustomed to hear the soft sounds of adulation. Of the many exiles that left Chile since, none have ever been sent thither, Columbia having lost all credit with Chile as a place of exile.

The regiment No. 1 de los Andes, of which Alvarado was colonel, had been left in San Juan with Don Juan Rosas, governor of that town. It consisted of 400 dragoons, and 500 light infantry. They declared themselves independent of San Martin; deposed his governor, Rosas, at the request of the town, substituting in his place Don Mariano Mendizabal, who immediately declared in favour of Carrera, sending Lieutenant-Colonel Morillo with despatches, and inviting him to take up his winter quarters in San Juan; offering him barracks, provisions, money, and auxiliary forces to cross the Andes the ensuing spring, provided such auxiliaries should be found necessary.

Ramirez also sent an aide-de-camp to our encampment, requesting Carrera to cross the Parrana, as Artigas had declared hostilities against him. Thus Carrera had in his encampment at the same time four embassies, each soliciting his attendance in a different quarter; viz. Buenos Ayres, Chile, San Juan, and Entre Rios.

To Chile he could not pass till spring; his presence was not necessary in San Juan, and it would be inglorious to go there to pass his time in ease and

tranquillity, leaving his friend Ramirez involved in a dangerous war; his experience taught him to expect that Buenos Ayres would be immediately reduced to their former system, as the Porteños were extremely docile when threatened by an approaching enemy: on the contrary, he anticipated a long and sanguinary war between Artigas and Ramirez. He therefore prepared to march to the aid of Buenos Ayres, where he expected to leave every thing tranquil in the course of a month at furthest, and then cross the Parrana with whatever forces he could raise, to the assistance of Ramirez. Don Estanislao Lopez, governor of the province of Sante Fé, also entered into these measures, and accompanied Carrera to Buenos Ayres with 400 men.

Previous to our march to Buenos Ayres some ammunition and other military stores were sent to the allies in San Juan, as they were liable to be attacked by a force then raising in Mendoza.

We marched from our encampment on the 14th of June, 1820, towards Buenos Ayres. Our regiment was 600; the dragoons of Lopez were 400. We were badly mounted, being obliged to ride and walk alternately, that our horses might not be too much fatigued; but after five days' march, we arrived in the neighbourhood of San Nicolas, when we provided ourselves with some excellent horses.

Soler having drawn all his forces together, resolved to await our approach to his encampment. On our arrival at San Antonio de Areco, a squadron of 200 cavalry, which had been sent as an advance guard to observe our march, made their commander prisoner, and passed to our division: these soldiers were left in San Antonio de Areco; and the Generals Carrera and Lopez marched with an advance of about 200 men; and early next morning, 28th of June, they discovered the encampment of the enemy at the Cañada de la Cruz. They were formed in three divisions: that of the right consisted of the regiment called Colorados, and a strong detachment of Blandingos, with one piece of artillery, commanded by Colonel Pagola; the centre division was formed by all the regulars, and four pieces of artillery, commanded by Major-General French; and their left division was composed of militia and civicos commanded by regular officers. A river ran from right to left in their front. Soler, who commanded the whole, was stationed with his staff and a small corps de reserve in the rear of the centre division.

As it was not supposed that we should meet the enemy till the following day, about 300 Chilenos and Santafecinos were detached on a necessary and important service, and could not be expected to return before midnight.

The remainder of the Federal force was at San Antonio, five leagues distant from the Cañada de la Cruz, where Carrera and Lopez were engaged with the enemy's guerillas. In the meantime expresses were sent to the detachments which were out, and to Colonel Benevente at Areco, desiring they would advance with all possible speed. Benevente mounted our division immediately; and about 11 or 12 o'clock we arrived on the field of battle, having galloped all the way: we changed our horses, and dispositions were given for the attack. The militia of Rosario, with a detachment of Chilenos, formed our right division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Garcia; the Chilian hussars occupied the centre, commanded by Colonel Benevente; and the dragoons of Santa Fé, commanded by General Lopez, were opposed to the Colorados on the right of the enemy's line. General Alvear, who acted as captain of his company of officers, bravely repulsed all the enemy's guerillas. Our force was so very inconsiderable, that it was impossible to spare any part of it for a reserve. General Carrera commanded the whole, without assigning any particular place in the field for his station.

All being ready, the action commenced by Lopez charging the Colorados on the enemy's right. Garcia, on the right of our line, also charged the enemy's left. No advantage appeared on one side or the other for some time; the dragoons of Lopez were at length repulsed by the Colorados, and retired fighting, about three hundred yards. The Porteños now considering the action as gained, shouted for victory; and their centre division, commanded by French, advanced to charge our regiment, French and Benevente (who were particular friends) first saluting each other in front of the lines. As the Porteños charged they kept up a heavy fire on us: the Chilenos used not their fire-arms; but, sword in hand, moved with such celerity and courage, that the Porteños had not time to secure their carabines or draw their swords, before we were on their line, which was soon broken, and fled with precipitation and disorder. The left of the enemy's line, seeing their centre destroyed (on which all their dependence was placed), fled also; and the Colorados on their right, who had gained much advantage over Lopez, were obliged to escape lest we should take them in the rear.

The rout was complete, the fugitives being pursued about six leagues. The Santafecinos gave no quarter: the Chilenos took 250 prisoners, not including Major-General French, Adjutant-General Montes la Rea, and

14 other field-officers, captains, and subalterns, with five pieces of artillery and two standards.

The Porteños lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 780 men. The wounded were collected in waggons that night on the field of battle, and sent to an hospital provided for them in Luxan.

In our march to Luxan, the light infantry of Vidal (who had not time to arrive on the field the day before) capitulated. They were about 500 effective men, and were given to Alvear, as were also the prisoners of the ranks taken in the action. These soldiers all took the oath of fidelity to Alvear, who summoned the alcaldes of the different towns and districts to meet in Luxan, where they declared him captain-general of the province of Buenos Ayres.

This misfortune of Soler threw a shade over his past successes. He could not brook the idea of the disgrace arising from his having been defeated by a force not amounting to more than one-fifth of that which he commanded; he determined, however, to evade it by passing to Monte Video, and thence to the United States. In the meantime, Colonel Pagola reached Buenos Ayres, where he raised himself to the dignity of captain-general of the province; and was deposed two days afterwards by Colonel Dorego.

We continued our march towards Buenos Ayres, and at the Puente Marco we were met by deputies from the town, who offered to ratify whatever conditions Carrera would please to grant. This humble strain, however, was quickly altered by the imprudence of Alvear, who was always as much hated by the citizens as he was beloved by the soldiers. Instead of endeavouring to cultivate a confidence with the citizens, he said to the deputies (when Carrera was not present), "You once dismissed me from your government, "but you shall not do so again. If ever an attempt be made against me, I "shall hang on the gibbet one half of Buenos Ayres."

This harangue of the new governor caused an astonishing change on the minds of the deputies and people: they considered that if his promises were so very beneficent before he had any actual power in the town, his performance would even exceed them when invested with authority. The deputies returned to Buenos Ayres; and when the citizens knew that Alvear was appointed to be their governor, and heard his speech to their deputies, they flew to arms to prevent our entry.

The protection which Carrera dispensed to Alvear, his union with him,

and his march to Buenos Ayres, was much against the inclination of his officers; nay, even himself must have seen that such an union was contrary to his own interest, and to that of all who were connected with him: he lost, in a great measure, that high opinion which the respectable inhabitants of Buenos Ayres had entertained of him, by protecting their enemy. But he had seen many happy and miserable days with Alvear: they had been long intimates; and he considered himself bound by the sacred laws of friendship not only to protect, but also to aid him. His judgment was sacrificed to the sincerity of his friendship, which led him to err; and that error may be considered as the principal cause of the difficulties under which he afterwards suffered.

We marched from the Puente Marco to the suburbs of Buenos Ayres, which we besieged during eighteen or nineteen days, cutting off all communication with the country. Colonel La Madrid was in the Magdalena, raising a force, whither we went in search of him; but he left a strong division well mounted, which retreated as we pursued them, whilst he with a part of his force made a retrograde movement to the town of Moron, in which our infantry was stationed, and prevailed on the officers and soldiers to accompany him to Buenos Ayres. All which he effected with address, ingenuity, and despatch.

The whole country and all its towns were ours. Buenos Ayres alone remained firm in the resolution to act on the defensive, though yet unable to undertake any offensive operations against us. To take the town by assault with Carrera's troops, which never exceeded 2000, was impossible; therefore, as the soldiers were much fatigued by the rigours of service and severity of the season, he raised the siege and retired to Luxan, to invigorate the troops with a few days' rest previous to our march for Entre Rios, having determined to evacuate the province.

Whilst we were in the encampment of Luxan, a considerable force of the enemy had advanced to the towns of San Isidro and San Fernando, on the coast of the river. These were surprised and dispersed at day-break by a detachment of our regiment, and another of the Santafecinos: some escaped on board their barks, others into the country, whilst the more resolute part of them undertook to defend themselves on their asoteas, or roofs of their houses. They were, however, obliged to surrender; and as they were but civicos of the town and country militia, they were disarmed, and dismissed to their respective homes.

Two days afterwards we began our march by the way of San Pedro, from

whose vicinity we collected some good horses. Here a party of ours was cut off: it consisted of a serjeant and eighteen men, who were conducting a drove of horses; when, intercepted by a division of the enemy, and not considering it warrantable to give up their horses, they fell on their numerous enemies, and all except three fell in the contest. Continuing our route in a direction parallel with and close to the river, we came to the Hermanos, where we learned that a vast number of horses were guarded by regulars and militia in the islands of the Parrana. As the channels of the river could only be passed by swimming, the defenders of these islands had great advantage in the morning, as they kept up a heavy fire on the men who had volunteered for that service: however, the channels were crossed, and the enemy driven from island to island; but they still kept their horses secure in their van. About eleven o'clock a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain came on, which rendered fire-arms useless and burdensome. The fire ceased; and as the contest remained to be decided by the sword, they entirely despaired of success; and embarking on large rafts, they crossed the largest channel to an island, leaving their wives, daughters, &c., with 2000 excellent horses, in our possession. The women we left in possession of their islands, marching away with the horses. We arrived at San Nicolas, where head-quarters were established, to wait the arrival of a vessel from Buenos Ayres, which had on board military stores and money remitted by the friends of Carrera in that town. In a few days the vessel came to San Nicolas, and delivered 900 suits of uniform, shirts, and every necessary for the soldiers; together with uniform, boots, pistols, &c. for the officers, 60,000 dollars in cash, and several pieces of cloth for cloaks; which stores were deposited in the house of the commandant of San Nicolas, where the General resided.

The Santafecinos under Lopez had crossed the Arroyo del Medio, and encamped in their own province, ten leagues distant from San Nicolas; and a detachment of Chilenos was also on that side of the Arroyo, about four leagues distant from our encampment.

This great separation of our force can only be accounted for by taking into consideration the absolute security in which we supposed ourselves from any feeble efforts which our timid enemy could be supposed to make.

A great levy had been made in Buenos Ayres and its adjacent country; and on our retreat, an army of 3000 men, commanded by Dorego, Rodriguez, and La Madrid, followed the line of our march, always keeping about thirty leagues in our rear. The same captain who had been sent by Dorego to the

Rincon de Gorondono, to call Carrera to Buenos Ayres, and who had followed Alvear since his revolution in the army of Buenos Ayres (before mentioned), now thought it the best way to atone for his former perfidies by becoming a spy on our operations, and continually communicating with the enemy.

The situation of our camp and distribution of our men were as follows: a strong detachment was at four leagues distance, in the province of Santa Fé; other detachments were at one league from our encampment, guarding our horses; the remainder of the cavalry were encamped in fenced orchards about one league from the town, and were not allowed to have horses saddled. A company of infantry, all the officers of Alvear, and some artillery soldiers, with five pieces of cannon, occupied the town.

That the Porteños might succeed the better in taking us altogether unprepared, deputies were sent to treat with the generals; and, breaking through all the laws of war and honour (being informed of our situation by their spy), they surprised us whilst in this treaty, and they succeeded so well that it became a general stratagem of our enemies in all our future actions with them.

On the evening of the 31st July, our spies gave notice that about 150 of the enemy had entered San Pedro, about 14 leagues distant; these we supposed to be the rear-guard of the enemy, who, though numerous, did not cause preparation, vigilance, or caution, on our part; so very contemptible was the idea which we entertained of them.

Lopez had information that Dorego intended falling on us at day-break next morning, and was about to despatch an express, when Alvear, who was in his encampment, offered to carry the news. Lopez confided this commission to his care; but, owing to forgetfulness, inattention, or treachery, he supped at an intermediate house, slept there all night, and, consequently, deprived us of that information which would have secured us from so unexpected and dreadful a catastrophe.

August 1st, before day, Carrera with the deputies proceeded from San Nicolas to the encampment of Lopez. At day-break the detachments which guarded our horses were surprised, and put to the sword: a soldier, however, escaped to our encampment with the information. Such officers and soldiers as had horses in the encampment, saddled and mounted them; whilst those who had not, formed on foot, and began their retreat towards San Nicolas. The number of officers and soldiers who were mounted did not exceed 250 men, who took the field to protect the retreat of the dismounted

soldiers to the town. An officer was despatched to San Nicolas, to acquaint the General, and receive his orders; but as he had crossed the Arroyo del Medio, the officer had orders to proceed to the encampment of Lopez, and call him to the assistance of the town. The Porteñian army, consisting of about 3000 men, advanced (trotting) in four parallel columns, with a strong guerilla in their front.

A detachment of fifty men were sent out to entertain the enemy; and our retreat was continued in column of divisions at the regular pace of our horses. Our guerilla repulsed that of the enemy, who immediately advanced a column of 800 men to sustain the attack on our rear. Reunion was sounded; and our guerilla took its place in the column, which now began to trot. The enemy pressed close on the rear of our column, and annoyed it much by a heavy fire. A German officer, who commanded the rear division, seeing his men begin to fall, and rightly judging the fortune of the day to be desperate, preferred to die fighting his enemy, rather than fall in the retreat. He ordered his men to secure their carabines, sword in hand; and faced them about without any order from the Colonel, or even acquainting him of his design. He precipitated himself with his valiant little band of thirty on a division of the enemy consisting of 800 men, throwing them into great disorder. Another of the enemy's columns, which was on our flank, quickly occupied the intervening space between our division and that brave officer, obliging Colonel Benevente to continue the retreat: as it was impossible to give any assistance to the men who were engaged, they all perished. Abeck, the officer who commanded that party, had served with Napoleon in Russia, and several other campaigns. He was an engineer, and possessed much professional knowledge; in his private character and domestic qualities he was as amiable and generous, as he was honourable and brave considered as a soldier. The dismounted soldiers had by this time entered the town, which was fortified by a deep dike, having only two entries, which were defended by artillery: our column began to gallop, in order to enter the town; but being closely pressed in the rear, friends and enemies entered together, thereby in a great measure rendering useless our artillery. Two columns of the enemy opened to the left, and surrounded the town by a strong line of battle, that none should escape. The brave Benevento rallied his men in the Plaza; where, with the assistance of a few infantry soldiers, he maintained the unequal conflict for upwards of two hours, — at the expiration of which time he had not more than thirty men, and a few officers on horseback: with

these, however, he determined to cut his way through whatever obstacles might oppose him. He put himself at the head of his party, galloped full speed through the town, and leaping the fosse, proceeded with intrepidity to break through the enemy's line which surrounded the town. The two platoons or small divisions, to which the desperate fury of Benevento was directed, fearing to meet him, opened an avenue by wheeling on the right and left backwards, through which he passed under an oblique fire from each platoon with little loss. The greatest difficulty was now surmounted: the Porteños pursued, keeping up a heavy but ineffectual fire, and expected that, arriving at a precipice which lay in the direction, they would make an easy prey of their designed victims; however, on coming up to it, men and horses went, or rather rolled, down it without any material injury. The detachment of the Arroyo del Medio now appeared; and the Porteños retired, lest they should be chased in their turn. Of the thirty men who accompanied Benevente from San Nicolas only fourteen escaped.

Our loss in San Nicolas was 16 officers and about 470 soldiers, not including 50 officers and 200 men belonging to Alvear; 6000 horses; the General and Colonel's tents; all our baggage and military stores; five pieces of artillery; an ammunition waggon with 12,000 rounds, and 60,000 dollars for the pay of the regiment. Madam Carrera, who had come from Rosario to see the General the day previous, shared in the general misfortune of the day, being taken prisoner in the church; however, two days afterwards Dorego sent her to the Arroyo Pabon, whither we had retired, with an escort and a polite message to the General.

The conduct of our Colonel, Benevento, on that day (as on all other such occasions) was worthy of the highest praise: the surprise was most complete; and though he had not more than 250 men (including officers) mounted, he defended himself against 3000 of the enemy from sunrise till mid-day, honourably exposing himself, and protecting the retreat of the dismounted soldiers to the town.

The Porteños were not content with the ample share of plunder which they had acquired at our cost, — they also broke open every house without exception; and in three days afterwards, upwards of 800 had deserted, loaded with booty: they returned to Buenos Ayres, resolved not to lose the honour they had gained in this by risking it in another action.

This great victory, gained by a people only accustomed to defeats, had the most flattering effects; the ancient spirit of Buenos Ayres (they supposed)

had reanimated her children. Not content with retaining their own province, they began to dream of conquests; and passing the Arroyo del Medio, the boundary of their territory, they entered that of Santa Fé, which they resolved to add to their jurisdiction.

Expresses were sent to all the provinces, announcing the death of Carrera, and the destruction of his division in the action of San Nicolas. The captain who had been spy in our encampment was the person who bore the welcome news to Chile; where his story seems to have been very gratifying, as he was presented with eight hundred dollars, and admitted as an honorary member of the distinguished legion of merit of Chile. Now, of what merit may have entitled him to this distinction I am still unable to form any idea: if a man who first betrays his own country, afterwards deceives and sells his friends and companions, and who is pliant to change with times, circumstances, and interests, have any merit, then that distinguished order should decorate every traitor's breast; if riding 300 leagues with despatches in the shortest time possible recommend a man so highly, why then we may suppose that all couriers who distinguish themselves in that way, ought to be admitted into this honourable and meritorious society of Chile.

Lopez and his dragoons having united themselves to the remnant of our regiment, which was about 130 men, we retired to the Arroyo de Pabon, about nine leagues from San Nicolas. Alvear was arrested by Lopez, who insisted on shooting him, with the deputies of the enemy, as accessaries to our misfortunes; but Carrera would not permit it. He provided a boat for Alvear, and assisted him to escape from the fury of the soldiers, telling him that he could not suppose his late error to have proceeded from treachery; that as he had once been the friend of Carrera, so he should ever consider him, but never again could admit him as a partner in his operations. — Alvear took a last leave of the friend whom his indiscretion had ruined; and, passing the Parrana, travelled to Monte Video, where he was employed in his rank of brigadier-general in the service of the Portuguese.

The Porteños, following up their advantage, had approached within four leagues of our encampment at the Arroyo de Pabon. Dorego sent deputies to Lopez privately, offering him peace, and a continuation in his government in alliance with Buenos Ayres, if he would turn the arms of his province against Carrera, and deliver him prisoner with his men to him. Lopez made known these conditions to Lieutenant-Colonel Garcia, who was second in command in the province of Santa Fé, and a particular friend of Carrera.

Garcia heard the proposition with contempt and indignation; adverted to his officers on the baseness of their governor Lopez, in thinking of sacrificing his greatest friend to his most inveterate enemies the Porteños; and finally made Lopez understand that his own safety was in question if he did not immediately desist. The plot was made known to Carrera, who had for some days previous suspected something of that nature to be on foot. Carrera dictated a letter, which the Governor was obliged to sign and send to the enemy, renouncing all further negociation of a private or dishonourable nature.

The Porteños seeing their perfidious efforts against Carrera disconcerted, advanced to try the fortune of another action: their force consisted of 2100 men; ours was about 380, of which only 130 were Chilenos. But twelve days had elapsed since the surprise of San Nicolas, the impression of which was still fresh on the minds of the soldiers, although few of them had been there; this, together with the great disproportion of our numbers, accounts for the unaccustomed timidity of our soldiers in the action of Pabon.

The Porteños at first were charged, and obliged to retire; but renewing the attack with vigour, our line was broken, and began to retreat: we were pursued several leagues. The Chilenos and a few Santafecinos protected the retreat by keeping a constant fire on the enemy. Our men were not properly reunited before our arrival at San Lorenzo, a distance of ten leagues from the battle ground. Our loss was immaterial, not exceeding twenty men. The most remarkable occurrence of this retreat was, that a Porteñian officer who accompanied us, and had been major of the famous hussars of La Madrid in High Peru, where he was considered little less than a Mars, was horsewhipped and discarded for having too great a desire to be one of the foremost in the retreat.

Having reunited our men at San Lorenzo, we continued to retire; and passing the Carcaraña, we encamped in Las Barrancas. The Porteños occupied, and almost destroyed, the town of Rosario; where they remained, not considering it prudent to follow our flying remnant too far in a country where they were entirely destitute of friends.

Lopez, finding that nothing but war would satisfy his officers and soldiers, made a levy in the country, raising about 800 men; a few northern Indians also came to join him: our division was now augmented to about 1000 men. We returned in search of the Porteños; and when we were about to pass the Carcaraña, our advance guard fell in with that of the enemy near

San Lorenzo, and killed forty of them, taking nine prisoners. This was an indication to the Porteños that their former fortunes in war were about to return; they, therefore, began to retreat, but were overtaken and brought to action.

On the 10th of September, in the morning, the town of Pergamino, which was garrisoned by 350 of the enemy, was assaulted and taken; 220 were taken prisoners, and the greater part of the rest died in the attack: and on the 12th, our entire division, and that of Dorego, presented themselves for battle in the Cañada Vica, or Gamonal. The detachments destroyed in Pergamino and San Lorenzo, as well as desertion, made a considerable reduction in Dorego's force; and this was the first action in which we were opposed by equal numbers.

Dorego, who attributed the success of the Federalists to their peculiar manner of fighting, determined to adopt the same plan, prohibiting his soldiers, on pain of death, to fire a shot. He bravely charged in front of his line against the Santafecinos, who met him with an equal contempt of danger. Dorego succeeded in breaking through the line of Lopez, when he was immediately charged by the Chilenos, led by Benevente, who stopped his progress: the fight became general and obstinate; but at length the Porteños had recourse to their long-practised expedient: they retired; and being closely pressed and broken, it was in vain that their General exposed himself by remaining in their rear, and labouring greatly to rally his flying troops: they were pursued six leagues. No quarters were given till the latter part of the chace, when 325 prisoners were taken. The number of killed were computed at 570: Dorego very narrowly escaped in the retreat.

Carrera and Lopez passed the Arroyo del Medio: it was the desire of the former to return to Buenos Ayres, and establish a government there which would be friendly to our cause; but the latter only wished for a consummation of the treaty which he had commenced at Pabon. As our principal force consisted in militia, who were eager to return to their families and houses, they contented themselves with driving off as their booty 15 or 20,000 head of cattle, and a great number of horses; and on their arrival in their own province, they were disbanded, each returning to their respective homes.

Carrera's head-quarters were at Rosario. The dragoons of Lopez were obliged to go to Santa Fé to curb the inroads of the northern Indians, who had taken offence against Lopez because he would not deliver up to their deputies a person who had killed an individual of their nation at Santa Fé.

Though Dorego had gained more honour for his country, and displayed more courage and ability, with a smaller force, than any former governor of Buenos Ayres; yet, the Porteños could not think of deviating from their long-received principle of deposing every Director as soon as he had been defeated, or otherwise unfortunate, without any regard to the abilities or virtues which he might possess. Hence the many mutations of government: their defeats were numerous, and each brought its political change.

Martin Rodriguez thought this the most advantageous moment to assert his claim; and his first step was to gain all the regular soldiers to espouse his pretensions. Soler (having recovered from the shame which he considered attached to himself in consequence of his defeat in the Cañada de la Cruz) came to Buenos Ayres from Monte Video to offer himself as a candidate for the government; but considering the power of Rodriguez to predominate, he united his faction with that of Dorego, that they might conjointly destroy Rodriguez, leaving futurity to decide the particular fate of each afterwards.

Every thing being thus arranged between Soler and Dorego, they assembled their factions armed in the Plaza, when they fortified themselves with artillery, &c. Rodriguez lost no time; he appointed the rendezvous for his veterans; and when he inspected them he found they would not be sufficient to attack the Plaza: he therefore went to the prisons where the officers and soldiers of our regiment made prisoners in San Nicolas were, and offered them their liberty if they would lend their assistance to him that day. They unanimously volunteered; were immediately taken out of prison and armed; and being united with Rodriguez's troops, he advanced to the attack of the Plaza. The citizens and civicos defended themselves for some time with resolution; they were, however, obliged to yield to the superior courage of Rodriguez's inferior force, whilst he waded through the blood of 400 citizens to seize on the supreme power of the *republic*, against the general consent of the town and province. This mode of election is not very uncommon amongst the *South American Republics*.

Rodriguez having established himself in the government of Buenos Ayres, and dispersed all the factions which had opposed him, performed his promise to the Chilenos who had aided him, by granting them passports to proceed to any of the provinces except Santa Fé, where we were: some of the officers passed over to Monte Video, from whence they united themselves again to our division.

Rodriguez sent deputies to the Indians of the South, promising them great

rewards if they would declare war against us, which they promised to do; and the Cacique Nicolas (the ally of Buenos Ayres) came with his tribe to Pergamino, from whence he marched with 200 Porteñian soldiers to the village of Melingue, on the confines of Santa Fé. A detachment of ours which garrisoned the town was put to the sword, and all the females and children carried away by the Indians for slaves. The Cacique Nicolas promised to put at the disposition of Rodriguez 7000 Indians; which force they considered would exterminate us without difficulty.

Buenos Ayres, with her promised Indian allies, considered herself secure. Their miserable poets all rhymed of our inevitable destruction, and ridiculed in the most reproachful manner the political ideas of Carrera; whilst those whose abilities did not reach to verse were more mischievously employed, in order to cause a dissension between Carrera and Lopez, by an extensive distribution of their pamphlets: in these pamphlets and papers, which were carefully thrown in our way, they made it appear that Lopez was but a mere cipher, subservient to all the measures of Carrera, without ideas, will, or opinion, of his own. The idea suggested in these papers did not deviate much from truth; but truth is not always pleasing. Lopez had self-love sufficient to make him feel the depth of his inferiority, which was now laid before the public: however, he concealed as much as possible the envy that gnawed his ungenerous heart.

The Porteños, rightly judging that their scheme might have had some effect on the uncultivated mind of Lopez, sent deputies to San Nicolas to resume the negociation, relative to Lopez giving up Carrera and his officers to the Porteños. Bustos, governor of Cordova, seeing Carrera without force, and forgetting all his obligations, refused to deliver to him 700 Chilenos which existed in his army, and which were to be delivered whenever Carrera would demand them. He also sent deputies to San Nicolas, to co-operate with those of Buenos Ayres in our destruction, having previously had his government acknowledged as legal by Buenos Ayres.

The regiment No. 1. in San Juan, which had been given to Carrera by Mendizabal, governor of that province, had been led by its colonel to attack Mendoza without any orders from Carrera, who had only directed that they should act on the defensive in San Juan in case of being attacked. Corro, who commanded that regiment, knew them to be as good soldiers as any in America, and put all his confidence in their courage, without consulting his own capacity for conducting such an enterprise. He marched with his in-

fantry and dragoons to the Positos, and from thence sent an advanced guard of 48 dragoons to Jocoli, a small village eight leagues distant from Mendoza. This guard was surprised and attacked by Caxaravillo, the celebrated Porteño, with 200 cavalry and 400 infantry. The guard charged, and routed the 200 cavalry with considerable loss to the enemy; and, on their return from the pursuit, had the audacity to attack the infantry, in which more than three-fourths of the guard perished: a remnant, however, returned to Corro. This victory of 600 men over 48, was not owing to their courage, or to the courage or dispositions of Caxaravillo, but to their impossibility of running away; for if the infantry could have followed the example of their cavalry, they certainly would have done so: if they could have run, they would never have stood to conquer. This dear-bought victory of the enemy was celebrated in Mendoza with much pomp and ceremony.

The officers and soldiers unanimously requested of Corro to lead them to the town, as the defeat which the guard had suffered only seemed to establish on firmer grounds the high opinion of their own superiority. But Corro saw it in another light. He was a most consummate coward; void of ideas, disposition, or any sense of honour or shame. He put his troops in retreat to return to San Juan; whilst the Mendocinos, informed of his timidity, pursued him with 2000 men, causing him to redouble his marches: however, he arrived without any loss in San Juan, where his soldiers expected he might pluck up a little courage amongst the ladies, as he was a great gallant. On the approach of the Mendocinos (who had the promise of co-operation from a faction in the town) Corro marched out, and was eagerly followed by his soldiers, who expected he was going to give the enemy battle on the Legua (a small plain outside San Juan); but their indignation was raised to the highest, when they were ordered to leave the ground they had devoted to the fortune of war, in order to retreat to La Arioja. The soldiers, seeing that Corro was only determined to run (as his name foretold for him), denied all further obedience to the coward, and dispersed to the different towns. About 200 soldiers, natives of Salta, still followed him, as he was going to that town. Mendizabal, governor of San Juan, was superseded by Don Antonio Sanchez in the government, and carried to Mendoza, where he was confined in a dungeon till after the death of Carrera, whose faithful friend he was; and at the time of our passing the cordillera, he also was sent to Chile at the disposition of O'Higgins, who, either from a desire to be considered magnanimous, or from real principles of humanity and justice, desisted from

taking his life *in Chile*, but did not scruple prolonging his tortures in irons and in a dungeon; and afterwards sent him to Lima, where his blood flowed to quench the insatiable thirst of the tyrant San Martin. Mendizabal was generous, brave, and disinterested; faithful to his friends, and rather implacable with his enemies: no superstition tainted his mind; and his resignation and courage in his last moments were worthy his former character.

Shortly after the dispersion of our men in San Juan, a revolution took place in Mendoza, in which Godoy Cruz succeeded Cruz Vargas; in consequence of which change, Colonel Aldao and his principal officers became obnoxious to the existing government. These were the officers who had commanded the expedition against our troops in San Juan; and though they were the inveterate enemies of Carrera, they were now obliged to throw themselves on his clemency. He did not consider them worthy of resentment: their wants were relieved, and they participated the generosity and protection of him whom they had so materially injured.

Lopez still carried on his private treaty with the deputies of Rodriguez and Bustos in San Nicolas.

The Indians who were invited by Rodriguez to join in the war against us had an unconquerable hatred to the Porteños; and at the period in which we expected them every day to fall upon us, a deputation of fourteen captains arrived in Rosario, sent by the principal cacique to treat with Carrera. They told him, in the names of their respective chiefs, of the very great rewards which Rodriguez had offered them for their services; but declared they could never take part with their insidious enemies the Porteños; and as to the rewards offered them, that they would sooner fight in company with brave men, independent of emolument, than they would in favour of such cowards as they knew the Porteños to be, notwithstanding any gifts they might offer. They made known to Carrera that their chiefs would be extremely ambitious of his alliance and protection; and that they were authorised to grant him any number of Indians he would require.

The conduct of the Indians, and their unasked assistance, seemed very mysterious, and made us suspect some treachery; but on minute investigation it appeared that Don —— Guelmo, who had been a captain, and commandant of a town on the Indian frontiers in Chile, in the time of Carrera, had preferred living amongst the Indians to suffering the indignation which O'Higgins and San Martin heaped on the officers and friends of the former government in Chile. This Guelmo, though above eighty years old, wished still to make

himself useful to his general, by engaging the Indians in his favour. Surrounded by enemies, and, what was worse, by false friends, the ray of hope which this unexpected intelligence communicated to each breast was far from disagreeable. Carrera knew the plot of the deputies in San Nicolas, and was aware that such an opportunity of extricating himself from their net was not to be rejected. He despatched five of the Indian deputies to the caciques, returning them thanks for the offer of their disinterested friendship, of which he accepted, and offered to become their protector against the Porteños; at the same time requesting them to send six or seven hundred men into the Pampas, which were there to wait his orders, without showing themselves on the frontier. The other nine deputies were provided for in our encampment, where they remained to act as guides to us, in case of being obliged to escape precipitately; and forty Indians, the guard of these deputies, were encamped in a village in the frontier, where we provided for them provisions, tobacco, &c.

Carrera wrote to the deputies in San Nicolas, informing them that he was perfectly acquainted with the nature of their dishonourable and perfidious plot; that he even comprehended its most abstruse conditions and ramifications, as they respected the provinces of Santa Fé, Buenos Ayres, and Cordova. He demanded them immediately to desist from the measures in contemplation, and to allow him an uninterrupted march to Chile; to which, if they did not accede, they should consider themselves responsible to their provinces for the consequences which would follow.

This letter of Carrera appeared to the deputies as an enigma which they could by no means solve. It was indeed very extraordinary how he could be acquainted with their private proceedings; but it was still more so, that, not having more than 150 men at his disposal, he would dare to demand of the representatives of these powerful provinces a suspension of their designs, point out a line of conduct which they should pursue, and throw out such menacing insinuations in case they did not allow him to march to Chile. His union with his friend Ramirez appeared impossible; and they could not conceive any other resource which was left him, or by which he could escape from their hands.

The abilities of Carrera were acknowledged by all parties, and his enterprising spirit was feared, as it was always known to be capable of some resource when danger threatened: they therefore resolved to put immediately in execution their plans, lest he should counteract their scheme.

The treaty was signed by the parties on the following conditions: viz. that the government of Buenos Ayres should pay to Governor Lopez at Santa Fé the sum of 12,000 dollars, together with 30,000 head of cattle, on his delivery of Carréra and his officers to the Buenos Ayrian troops in San Nicolas; that Lopez should continue in the government of Santa Fé, and Bustos in that of Cordova; that the three states, Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, and Cordova, should act defensively and offensively against Ramirez, or any other friend of Carrera who should resent or oppose their present undertaking. Lopez had sent to Santa Fé for his dragoons, who came down the river, and were disembarking at San Lorenzo in order to surprise us, and give us up to the enemy before we were apprised of our danger. Having received information of the meditated surprise, we put ourselves in a posture for defence, and at the same time began our retreat, conducted by our Indian guides. We marched all that evening and night at an accelerated pace, and at twelve o'clock next day we united ourselves to the forty Indians who awaited us on the frontier. The dragoons of Santa Fé were unacquainted with the service on which they were about to be employed, till they were ordered to take horses in San Lorenzo, and then informed of the duty they had to perform. The soldiers unanimously refused to take arms against the Chilenos, as they called them their companions and defenders in their past campaigns. Hence it is that we were not interrupted in our retreat. We continued our march three days into the Pampas, not having any other food than the eggs of ostriches and other wild fowls, which were for the most part addled; the soldiers, however, selected the best of them for us. We almost despaired of meeting the Indians in these Pampas, where they had promised to wait our orders: the Indians who accompanied us were also impatient, and on that night the divines or necromancers began their sacred ceremonies; and after four hours' consultation, it was revealed to these prophets, that the next day, before noon, we should discover the Indians of whom we were in search.

Next day, about ten o'clock, we discovered the van of the Indians (thereby fulfilling the prophecy of their priests), who sent out a party to reconnoitre; we followed the like example, sending a party of the Indians who were with us: these parties quickly recognised each other for friends, and returned to their particular corps. Soon after the main body of the Indians appeared, rising on the horizon, and continued to advance in line. A deputation of Indians (with interpreters) was despatched to wait on the General, and to request that the ceremonies of our meeting should be conducted in the same

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CACIQUE MEETING CARRERA'S TROOPS.

manner as practised amongst them, and not in any other way customary among Christian armies. All their formalities being agreed to, one of the deputies was sent to announce to the Indians that we had acquiesced in their desire, and that they might advance; whilst the rest remained with us, to assist us in going through the manœuvres.

Our men were formed in one rank, officers to the front, with an equal distance between them. On our left flank were about sixty Indians, formed in the same manner. Our Indian allies were about 900 in number, not including those which accompanied us from Rosario. They were formed in line, with an interval of about three yards between each troop; the captain of each troop in front of its centre, and the caciques, at equal distances, in front of the whole. The Indians were naked, with exception of the waist, to which was suspended a small triangular piece of tanned sheep-skin, ornamented on the border by a silver fringe; their long black hair (which they wore all alike), after coming down over the ears and forehead, was again turned upwards, wound round the head, and tied at the extremity by a riband used amongst them for that purpose; their lances were about 14 feet long, and were held perpendicular in their right hands; their horses (which were covered with many fantastic trappings) were excellent; and their line was actually the best formed I ever saw.

All being ready, the ceremony began by each line advancing at a trot; and on approaching each other at a full gallop, as in a charge, the Indians brought their lances to the position of attack, and whilst they advanced with the greatest fury raised a hideous yell, which (as we were little acquainted with our new allies) made us doubt very much whether this were a real or mock charge. However, on coming within forty yards of us, the Indians halted on a sudden, their formation not having suffered the smallest alteration or confusion in their rapid advance. We wheeled to our left, and continued to gallop round them (according to our instructions) till we had encircled them three times, keeping up a fire during the whole, which very much gratified them. We then halted, and they returned us the same compliment by galloping round us three times in the same manner.

The honours being over, they halted in front of our line; and the principal cacique, with his subaltern caciques and captains, marched out in front of theirs, where they were joined by Carrera and his officers. After a long, but (I may say) unintelligible conversation, they offered us their hands, which we accepted, in token of our mutual attachment and promise to defend

each other. We encamped; and were invited by the caciques to their quarters, where we feasted sumptuously on some good roast horses. The Indians took the same care that our soldiers should want for nothing which it was in their power to bestow. They made us many presents of horses, ornaments, ponchos, &c. in proof of the sincerity of their protestations; and showed the greatest solicitude and attention to please, and make us consider ourselves among friends.

Having assuaged our hunger, the caciques rose in council, and requested the General would be present also. The subject in discussion was, whether the town of Salta (which was about three days' march from us), on the frontier of Buenos Ayres, should or should not be attacked.

We had a long march to encounter, and it became necessary that we should enter the province of Buenos Ayres to furnish ourselves with cattle for our transit to the country of the Indians; and also make some provision for the time of our residence there, that we might not be burthensome to our friends, having the opportunity of being independent at the expense of our enemies.

La Madrid, whom we expected to attack, had retired towards Pergamino. The town of Salta was garrisoned by a detachment of forty men; its own inhabitants capable of carrying arms might be from 150 to 200 men. Carrera knew too well the disposition of the Indians, and their mode of warfare, to give his assent to the assault of the town. He therefore used every expedient exertion to prevent and dissuade them from it, by showing the impossibility of succeeding in, and danger of attempting, any attack against the town; in contrast with the exaggerated advantages of passing into the country, from whence they might drive to their habitations vast droves of horses, cattle, &c. He expatiated much on the destruction of the Indians, if they should have the temerity to advance against the musquetry and artillery of the town. But they were not to be deterred by words only. They protested that nothing should hinder them of destroying the Porteños; and requested he would give them thirty of his men to accompany them. Carrera finding them so importunate and unchangeable in their resolution, conceived the idea of counteracting their inhuman designs and saving the inhabitants, whilst he seemed to accede to their request. He called a captain, and gave him instructions to march with thirty men as vanguard to the Indians towards the town, and immediately on receiving the fire of the enemy to put his men in retreat, and use all possible means to inspire the Indians with a sense of

imminent danger if they advanced, that they might be induced thereby to abandon their project. It was rather a hard injunction to lay on a brave old officer, that he should show himself as a coward in front of his soldiers and the enemy. However it was complied with. Soon as the enemy in the town opened their fire from the church and batteries, Carrera put himself at the head of his picket, exchanged fire a few times with the enemy, and then ordered a retreat. The soldiers, little accustomed to shrink from apparent danger, were incensed against their captain for the cowardice he showed, refused to obey him, and even threatened to shoot him if he dared to give them any order. They called on the cornet to lead them on, and fearlessly advanced under the enemy's fire, followed by 900 Indians. The Captain accompanied the detachment as a soldier in order to redeem his lost reputation; but all was vain: the impression on their minds against him ever after was indelible. The soldiers and Indians entering the Plaza, the Porteños were panic-struck: they capitulated, on condition of being left unmolested in the fort and tower of the church, leaving their property, wives, children, and relatives, at the mercy of the unfeeling Indians. The scene which ensued was the most affecting and pitiable: the women (as is customary on such occasions) had run to the church to implore the protection of their patron saints; but the Indians were ignorant of the existence of such patronage or protection. They broke open the door of the church, possessed themselves of all the females, old and young, children, sacred utensils, &c.; even the images of the saints did not escape the general calamity. As that of the Virgin was magnificently decorated, it caught the fancy of a cacique, who dragged her away in the greatest precipitation: nor did he discover his prize to be inanimate till he had her in the street; when, finding that he had been deceived by her very brilliant appearance, and lost the opportunity of making a more desirable booty, he undressed her, and carrying with him all the ornaments and clothing, he left the unfledged image with disgust and contempt in the street. Whilst all the time of the Indians was absorbed in search of the unfortunate women and children, our detachment employed themseves in plundering the town; in which they found a considerable quantity of specie and valuable articles. Soon as the General was acquainted with the occurrences he hastened to the town; but as he was two leagues distant, he could not arrive in time to prevent the excesses. The Indians were about to reduce the town to ashes, when the General arrived, and persuaded them to desist and abandon the town; which they did, conveying the

women on old horses, and such as were not able to travel otherwise were carried in the arms of the Indians. It is unnecessary to attempt a description of the cries and agonies of these wretched creatures in the power of their savage masters, — it is easily conceived. Carrera claimed many of the most respectable amongst them as his relations; and some of them, who were in possession of the caciques, were quietly delivered; but such as had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the Indians were retained, as the authority of their chiefs did not extend so far as to command them to relinquish what they considered honourably gained in war. However, we employed every means of extricating several young women from the power of their cruel masters. We got some in exchange for our scarlet cloaks, caps, jackets, &c.; others we stole, and disguised in the uniform of soldiers; whilst we seized on others by force, alleging that they were our sisters, wives, or relations.

The Indians were so irritated at our contempt of their sacred rights and customs respecting prisoners and war, that they prepared twice to sacrifice us as the victims of our insolence; but the interposition of Guelmo and their caciques, our prompt dispositions to resist them, the high idea they had formed of our prowess from the example of those who accompanied them in Salta, and a respect or timidity (which they had not yet lost) for fire-arms, all concurred in inducing them to desist, and become our friends again.

That night thirty women, whom we had rescued or ransomed, were sent back to Salta under the care of a guard, and unknown to the Indians. The greater part of the remainder were afterwards ransomed; many of whom chose to remain in the division, and accompanied to the last. The number of women taken in Salta was about 250, and a great number of children.

The very unfortunate catastrophe of Salta furnished our enemy's commentators with ample grounds for a liberal display of their *encomiums* on Carrera, and those who accompanied him. That the affair in itself was undoubtedly barbarous, and will admit of little apology, is but too evident; but any person curious enough to investigate the causes which led to the desolation of that town, will be convinced that it was not caused by Carrera, was not abetted by him, nor was it in his power to have prevented it. Seven thousand Indians had been called by Martin Rodriguez in order to extirpate us; and he also showed the inhuman example of Indian warfare by sending 200 of his soldiers with the cacique Nicolas, who surprised Melingue (a town on the frontiers of Santa Fé, then our ally), carrying away all its inhabitants captives. This, Rodriguez observed to the cacique, was but

a foretaste of future plunder, as he would give them every assistance to destroy the whole of the province of Santa Fé when their force would arrive. Lopez, intimidated at this threat, and envious of Carrera, made a dishonourable peace with his enemy, — *selling us*, as has been before stated. Carrera was accidentally enabled to defend himself from the machinations of his insidious enemies, by uniting himself with those very Indians who had been called for his destruction; and necessity obliged him to scourge his enemies with the same lash under which they had deliberately doomed him to suffer.

Carrera did in no way encourage the Indians in their attack on Salta: on the contrary, he did every thing in his power, and perhaps more than was consistent with his safety, to dissuade them from it; and though he permitted a detachment of soldiers to accompany them, it was for the express purpose of more effectually deterring them by showing an example of fear, that he might thereby prevent the disorders necessarily emanating from the surrender of the town.

Unless by some such stratagem as that tried by Carrera, the destruction of Salta could not possibly have been prevented by us. The Indians are naturally jealous and distrustful; and it cannot be supposed that Carrera could have such an unbounded ascendancy over their minds in the first days of our union with them, as he afterwards acquired by a longer acquaintance with them. There was no province that would receive us; and Carrera, by restraining them from their project, would have shut the last and only avenue which was left us for retreat. If we absolutely refused to allow the assault, they would in the same moment mistrust us of being attached to the enemy, and as enemies they would proceed against us. Their force was upwards of 900, and our squadron about 140. However, Rodriguez in his proclamation hinted that we were more barbarous than the Indians themselves, for not having opposed them. If Rodriguez judged of the Indians from his knowledge of the Porteños, there is some excuse for him; for our 140 men were more than sufficient to control and drive 1000 Porteños without difficulty; but with that disparity of numbers, against the Indians, we could indulge no rational hopes of success. Hence our open and active mediation in favour of the town would have been as useless towards its safety, as it would have been impolitic, injurious, and destructive, with regard to our interests. We had indeed an excellent opportunity of dying in defence of our most implacable enemies, one of whom would not have been

grateful enough to acknowledge the merit of such a sacrifice. But even that could not have saved them; their destiny was inevitable!

In Rodriguez's very eloquent proclamation, particular descriptions of our imputed cruelties in Salta were given to the public: Carrera was accused of sacrilege; and Rodriguez, as champion of the church, bound himself under a most solemn vow to the saints and Virgin who had been so vilely treated, to avenge their indignities on the head of the impious barbarian who had inflicted them. He called on the citizens and soldiers to aid him in the performance of his sacred promise; and hoped the matrons, virgins, and holy people would fast and pray for the success of his most laudable enterprise.

He had little difficulty in raising a strong expedition; for as the honour of their saints and their religion had suffered in Salta, their votaries flew to their banners, confident of success from the holiness of their cause.

Rodriguez is no doubt a very good Christian whilst there are no motives to be otherwise; but, whether his piety and veneration for the saints would be sufficient to triumph over the temptation held out by the appearance of the glittering chalices, vases, and candlesticks consecrated to them, or not, the inhabitants of Chuguisaca and their churches could determine without much hesitation.

As Rodriguez was familiarised with sacrilege, it is not strange that it should be the uppermost of his inflammatory inventions against his enemies: men frequently judge of the vices and weaknesses of others by a knowledge of their own, but he fabricated his charges against Carrera merely to answer his own purposes; and by a retrospect over his own former actions, he was furnished with all those crimes which he wished to attribute to us: and from the same source, so long as his memory aids him, he can always draw an abundant fund of invectives.

We continued our march into the interior; and Rodriguez followed us, but at a very respectful distance, not less than fifty leagues in our rear. The Porteños saw that it was inconsistent with their safety to march too far into the Pampas, as (in case of being attacked) their flight would avail them nothing, when at such an immense distance from their own province. They therefore encamped at the Laguna de Floras, and Rodriguez, leaving La Madrid in command of the army, returned to Buenos Ayres; from whence he sent to the encampment a quantity of cloth, beads, bridles, toys, &c. as presents for the Indians of Nicolas (who were in their favour), or any others who might become proselytes to the interests of Buenos Ayres.

After thirty-two days' march we arrived at the toldos, or habitations of the Indians; and chose for our encampment a situation at the base of a hill, about one mile distant from the dwelling of one of the caciques. A deep river and two smaller streams ran parallel with our front, which they covered securely; our left flank was defended by a branch of the same river; and our right was protected by an advanced post. Our position was the most eligible in the country, as it would be impossible to surprise us; however the Indians requested we would decamp, as they had serious doubts for our safety if we persisted in our desire to hold this ground. It was supposed among them (from some tradition or prophecy) that that hill was the habitation and resort of an infinite number of *gualichi* or evil spirits, who punished with death or disease the temerity of all such as dared to intrude on the confines of this enchanted ground. Our first idea on receiving this information of the Indians was, that as the grass was luxuriant and of excellent quality, they wished by this artifice to preserve it for themselves, and induce us to remove to some other part; but on consulting with Guelmo, the General was convinced that they spoke the sentiments of their minds, without any intention to deceive us, and that their importunity in urging us to decamp was owing to their solicitude for our safety. The spot was most desirable, yet there was no vestige of habitation; and the untrodden appearance of the ground, and their little knowledge of the passes of the river in that place, indicated that it was little frequented by the Indians. Carrera quieted their fears, assuring them that those gualichi had no power against his soldiers, and that in a very few days he did not doubt but they would be entirely expelled from the hill. The Indians retired from the unhallowed ground, filled with hope and fear for our fate. Very early next morning they came to visit us, and hear what adventures we might have had in the course of the night; and expressed the greatest joy and astonishment, at hearing that the evil genii of the mountain had no power when they were opposed by us. They gradually lost their fears of the place, and in a few days their visits became so frequent and of such duration as to be a test to our patience.

Their attachment to Carrera daily increased. All the neighbouring caciques came to congratulate and welcome him to their country; offering at the same time to serve with him in any part against his enemies. Deputies were sent to Chile and the more distant nations, requiring the attendance of their caciques in the encampment of the *Pichi Rey*, or little king (as such

was the name they had given Carrera), naming a certain day for the assembly or junta of caciques to meet.

The Porteños having used every method to alienate the confidence of the Indians from us, and finding them inflexible in their attachment to us, conceived the following scheme: — they circulated a report amongst the Indians that we were their friends, and that our object was to gain the rear of the Indians, and then attack them; whilst they would meet them, and by this combination of operations they expected to annihilate the whole race. This ingenious intelligence was industriously circulated by the cacique Nicolas (their ally) and his captains amongst the other tribes, and did not fail to rouse the distrust and jealousy of the Indians towards us.

Carrera heard their complaints against us with much patience and attention, and succeeded in appeasing them, by making it appear that it was but a stratagem of the enemy, to cause a dissension between him and the Indians, that they might come afterwards and drive them entirely out of their country; and to show them that he was not the friend of Buenos Ayres, he determined to march in a few days to attack them, desiring some Indians to be immediately sent out to discover their position. The Indians sent out to explore the enemy's camp advanced with an incredible rapidity, and reconnoitred their encampment; but in lieu of returning to report what they had seen, as had been ordered, they fell on the enemy by surprise, and again renewed their offence against the Virgin, by putting to death all the soldiers who were under her protection: the soldiers no doubt had ready passports to heaven; but the crime against their Holy Lady was aggravated by this defeat of her avengers. La Madrid, with his usual good fortune, escaped with a few officers, to give an account to Rodriguez of the success of the expedition, and its negociation; which account was so satisfactory, that he was induced to discontinue any further efforts towards the accomplishment of his holy vow.

The appointed time for the meeting of the caciques being come, they attended with punctuality; each bringing with him a guard of Indians, to give an idea of strength and quality of his tribe. All being assembled, they sacrificed to their great patron and preserver the Sun, previous to opening their council.

For this sacrifice a colt "without blemish" was chosen by the priests, and tied by their own hands. The principal priest then by an orifice in the side introduced his arm into the body of the victim, and tore out the heart,

liver, &c. whilst the animal was yet alive; the blood from the heart he sprinkled upwards towards the sun, the other priests doing the same with the blood from the body. They (the priests) then devoured the heart, liver, lights, and entrails, reeking with blood; whilst the caciques were permitted to eat the body of the sacrifice.*

The sacrifice being finished, they proceeded to their divination or prophecies; and as their revelations were of the most flattering nature, the council was permitted to be opened under the auspices of the Sun. The Indians were naked, as they are in all functions of war, council, religion, or athletic exercises. Their long hair was more than usually ornamented by white, red, blue, or yellow plumes; and their faces frightfully painted with black, red, and white earths.

The oldest cacique sitting cross-legged on a cloth prepared for that purpose, the next in seniority sat in the same manner on his left, and so in succession, till the junior cacique came to close the circle on the right of the senior. The General and his interpreters were seated in the centre of this circle. Our officers and the Indian captains formed a second and third rank round the circle, where we stood, to hear these turbulent sons of liberty represent their constituents in the open air, exposed to the rays of a scorching sun. All being seated, a profound silence reigned, which was at length interrupted by the principal or oldest cacique, in a short speech directed to the members, intimating the object of their union, &c. He then addressed himself to Carreta, saying, that having assembled ——— tribe of Indians in council, he was authorized and required by their authority, and in their name, to congratulate and welcome the Pichi Rey to their country; to enquire respecting his health, and the difficulties he might have met in his march hither; the state of the country from whence he came; the strength of the military establishment there, and how employed, or likely to be employed; a particular relation of the wrongs which he had suffered from his enemies, &c. &c.; and to inform him, that as they were convinced that he was the true friend to the Indians, he had only to command their tribe, and they

* It is curious that the account given here by Mr. Yates, of the sacrifice of the colt, agrees with what we are told of the ceremonies practised by the ancient Mexicans at a human offering. It should seem, therefore, that the horse is only a substitute for a man. The way is now open, and I do not doubt that an intelligent observer might find among the Araucanians much to throw light on the history of the more polished ancient American states.

would fly to any part to revenge his injuries, and embrue their hands in the blood of his enemies. Guelmo, the interpreter, noted all the principal heads of the cacique's discourse; and Carrera, after examining it particularly, answered in a formal speech, which was interpreted to the Indians by Guelmo. They spoke each in the same simple form, and to the same effect; and when they had all delivered the messages of their respective tribes, Carrera delivered to them a speech, in which he returned them thanks for the confidence which they placed in him, and the force which they had put at his disposition; declaring to become their protector; enumerating the advantages which would arise to them from this union with him, &c. &c. When this oration of Carrera was interpreted to them, they offered him their hands, which he cordially accepted one by one.

As all they had hitherto spoken was not of or for themselves, but for the tribes which they represented, they now ventured to express their personal attachment to the Pichi Rey, whom they presented with various gifts, &c. Wine was served to this august assembly; but as they were on important business, they observed perhaps as much moderation as might be expected in a more civilised society. Each dipping the middle finger of the right hand thrice in the cup, sprinkled the wine upwards as an offering, before they would taste it (a ceremony which is invariably observed before they eat or drink); they then merely tasted the wine, and ordering it away, resumed the business of the day. Each cacique gave in a report of the force which he could bring into the field, which collectively amounted to 10,000 warriors: they then proceeded to give their ideas on the mode of attack against the Christians; and their horrid plans of bloodshed and desolation argued as much sagacity and penetration, as they did of ruthless barbarity and cruel inhumanity. Carrera used every argument to convince them of the evil of their method of carrying on war; but no eloquence could prevail against the impropriety of a custom which long usage had rendered sacred. As the Indian maxim is, "Spare an enemy to-day, and to-morrow he will cut your throat," they cannot conceive either propriety, policy, or humanity, in allowing their victims to live, except women and children, who serve them as slaves.

However Carrera made appear to them, that amongst those whom they considered as their enemies, they and he had many friends; and that it would be preposterous to inflict on them the same chastisement as on their oppressors; of which being convinced, they promised to respect all such as he would call his or their friends. Carrera then asserted, that as women or children

did not carry arms or go to war, it was unbecoming a brave and warlike people to kill or carry them away captives. They could not listen to this tenet, as it struck at the very foundations of their customs respecting war; and even their honour was implicated. The honour of an Indian is computed by his train of captives: they destroy all their enemies of the male kind; and if they took no women or children prisoners, they should have no captives, and consequently no honour. Such is the reasoning of the Indians on the subject; and if any chief, however popular he might be, would undertake an expedition, and deny that right to the Indians, he would not have one solitary follower: Carrera seeing he could not prevail, waived all further conversation on the subject. The assembly was prorogued, and we retired with the caciques to dine on some bullocks, which had been roasted for the occasion; and after dinner, a bacchanalian revel succeeded, in which they gave themselves up to the uncontrolled enjoyment of their favourite excess,—drunkenness: we continued the revel all night, amidst the prophecies and songs of priests and bards. It is an abomination to an Indian to eat, drink, or sleep, with a woman; however, the principal or favourite women of some of the caciques had their meetings apart; they were unnoticed by the Indians, but had some attention paid them by us: they were, if possible, more intoxicated than the men. Their songs seemed to take much effect on them, as they sometimes laughed, and sometimes wept, at the ideas which they expressed. The airs were wild, sweet, irregular, and plaintive; rather pleasing, and not void of harmony.

The repetitions of these fetes were numerous; but it would be tiresome and unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of them, as what I have mentioned may serve to give a general idea of their sacrifices, councils, and revels.

These inhospitable regions of America, where water is extremely scarce, and wood in most places not to be found, were but little inhabited before the conquest by the Spaniards; and were first peopled by refugees from the south of Chile, who came hither for the exercise of that liberty which they feared it would have been impossible for them to enjoy there. Various other causes since that time, such as wars with each other, &c., have driven various tribes and remnants of tribes to settle there, that they might escape the vengeance of their more powerful rivals.

Amongst the various tribes there is no union of government: they are frequently at war with each other; and only act in concert with each other, and under one chief, when threatened by some real or imaginary danger; and

even then, there are no laws to compel them: the service of each tribe is voluntary, and during its own pleasure.

Each tribe is governed by a cacique or chief, who is elected from amongst themselves. The qualifications necessary for him who would aspire to that honour are, acknowledged superiority of wisdom in council, courage and stratagem in war, and zeal for the tribe which he governs: the power of a cacique is so exceedingly limited, as to leave him merely the name of it. It is his province to assemble his tribe, and explain to them the advantages arising from a war, or the necessity of surprising or annihilating a rival nation; but it is theirs to ratify or deny it. However, when they do ratify the proposition of their cacique on any occasion whatsoever, they adhere to it ever afterwards with a religious veneration; and it is to them as laws are to other countries. When the chief and a majority of his tribe are for war, they cannot use any compulsory means to force those to take a part in it who might have been against it in council; each being absolutely master of his own actions, so long as he does not injure the person or property of any individual of the society: but the soothsayers and bards begin their functions; and by their prophecies and songs so elevate the minds of their martial audience, that few are so cold to fame as to stay behind, when honour and victory await them in the field. The war-cry being given, the Indians relinquish that turbulent and independent spirit which animates them in domestic life: they become tractable and subordinate to their captains and caciques, obeying them in every respect with the same punctuality which is expected from regular soldiers to their superiors, during the expedition. Nor can they recover their liberties before they return to their habitations; when they are dismissed, again assume their arrogance, and have a power to bring to trial their chief, or enquire into his conduct in the time of his absolute authority, and punish him if he were obnoxious to them.—From what has been said of the government of Indian tribes, it is evident that the influence of a chief with his own tribe, or among the chiefs of neighbouring nations, depends in a great measure on his eloquence. The only privilege which they possess in time of peace is that of giving their advice; and he who can express himself best, and touch the passions of his audience most forcibly, will be heard most attentively, and obeyed with least reluctance. The Indians pay a religious adoration to the sun, as the author of light, life, vegetation, &c.; and also a kind of secondary veneration to the moon. Whenever they eat or drink, the three first morsels or drops are consecrated to the sun, by throwing them up-

wards: the priests, on occasions of danger, emergency, doubt, suspicion, &c., sacrifice to the sun, previous to their soothsaying, that the genius of truth may direct their prophecies; at the return of each full moon, they perform some inferior ceremonies to that luminary. The eclipse of either sun or moon is looked on as a presage of some dire calamity, which they try to avert by sacrifice, or flight from the dwelling from whence they had seen it. That they have an idea of a state beyond the grave, appears from their having their horses, arms, and sometimes their favourite wives, buried with them, to accompany them to that unknown world; but such an idea must indeed be very imperfect and undefinable, in an Indian mind!

Their language is very imperfect, wanting a great number of nouns to express the names of many virtues, vices, ideas, arts, &c. Male and female are sometimes expressed by the same name, without any modification or difference of termination, by which the gender might be known; thus, Pichiboton is the name for boy or girl, young man or young woman, but an additional number of qualifying epithets is necessary before we know in which of its meanings to consider it. Their verbs are also defective in the tenses, expressing an action or passion without any direct idea of time, but in an indefinite manner: labouring under these difficulties, it must take many words to express the most simple idea. The manner in which the caciques speak in council is entirely different from that of common conversation. The harangues are given with astonishing fluency and rapidity: they seem never at a loss to express any word; their sentences are equally divided by pauses of equal length, and they give an idea of blank verse, read without observing any pause but the final at the end of each line. They use neither action nor gestures; but affect a most visible variation of the tone in which they deliver their sentiments.

Agriculture is entirely unknown amongst them. They subsist altogether on their flocks, and remove from one part to another to accommodate them with pasture: when the society is small their stock is kept together, without distinction of property, except the horses, which in the way of stock are the only personal property of the Indians; the cows, sheep, mares, and colts, are the common property of the tribe. Their flocks are entirely managed by their women and slaves (Christian women), who watch alternately during the night, mounted on horseback, and going the rounds among the cattle: if a sheep or any animal should be missing, the unfortunate woman is stripped and flogged in a most barbarous manner. The occupation of the women during the day is to catch and saddle the horses of the Indians, and cook

their food. From day-break till dark, the women are busily employed in this last occupation. Soon as a boiler of the horse-flesh is cooked, it is taken from the fire and served to the Indians, sitting on their beds; every one has his earthen dish, out of which he eats and drinks; and if there should be any left after the men have done eating, the women make a repast in a separate corner of the toldo. The boiler is again put over the fire and filled, — cooked, and eaten; and the repetition of the same continues so long as they have light. The Indians in their toldos are very hospitable: always when we visited the toldos they took care to have beef and mutton for us; which food they eat only in time of famine, or when they can procure no other.

The toldo of an Indian is a species of tent formed by a few stakes made fast in the ground, and covered with skins. The fire is in the centre; and at one side of the toldo the Indians sleep in little stalls on beds of sheep-skins, whilst their women occupy the other side in a similar manner. The Indians are as silent and pensive in their toldos, as they are noisy and turbulent in their public meetings and councils. They will sit on their beds for an hour without uttering a syllable, wrapt in some profound meditation, or plucking the beard from their faces with silver tweesers which they carry for that purpose, never permitting any hair to grow on their faces or bodies. Every Indian has absolute power over the lives and actions of his women and slaves; his daughters are also at his disposition; but they are accountable for their conduct towards their sons, soon as they have passed the state of childhood. If a woman is unfaithful to her owner, or even mistrusted by him of having other attachments, he is generally her executioner, ending her life with his own hand. When an Indian is first married, he gives a feast to the relations of the bride and his own friends; but all the after-marriages are considered merely as commercial transactions. Polygamy is allowed amongst them, each being permitted as many wives as he can purchase.

The Indians, owing to the simplicity of their lives, enjoy excellent health; diseases are so unfrequent amongst them that they do not acknowledge the existence of any natural distemper. Whenever an Indian is afflicted with any sickness at a premature age and dies, the soothsayers, who are also their physicians, impute the malady to some enemy of the deceased, who is supposed to have the power of magic or witchcraft; and if their science of prophecy should enable them to discover who the wizard is, he suffers an immediate death. When an Indian dies, his best horse, saddle, spurs, sword, and lance, are buried with him in a pit; and if he should have a wife more dearly beloved than the rest, she accompanies him in his transit to a

more happy world, where her office is still to wait on him as a servant. Immediately after the interment the tents are struck, and the tribe marches in search of a more hospitable habitation.

Among the Indian tribes, crimes are not very frequent. They adhere strictly to what they consider justice; and any great innovation on, or violation of, their established customs is punished with death. A man who kills any member of the society is given up to the friends of the deceased, and expiates his crime with his blood. This is the right of revenge, which is the unquestionable privilege of every Indian; and should it be denied him, a civil war is generally the result, and the tribe becomes extinct. Though they suppress theft, murder, &c. in their own tribes, he who commits the most barbarous outrages on his enemies is considered most worthy of the respect and applause of every member of his own society.

There may be considered four orders of Indian society; the caciques, priesthood, captains, and people. They live together in the most perfect equality and enjoyment of their customs. Their occupations are nearly the same, except the priests'; who at different times, and under different circumstances, exercise the various functions of priest, prophet, physician, bard, &c.

They compute their time by the lunar revolutions, and their distances by days; thus, two moons mean two months; and the number of days between one place and another, means the time in which an Indian can gallop from one to the other, and gives them a tolerably exact idea of distance. Their way of counting is complex and fatiguing. They begin by counting up to ten (which they cannot exceed); then making a mark on their beads, or with a piece of stick, they count other ten, which they mark in the same way, and so continue to proceed to ten tens or 100, which is marked apart; a fresh score is begun, and continued to ten hundred or 1000, known by a different mark. Their numeration seldom goes beyond 1000, and cannot exceed 10,000. A number of men or objects passing 10,000 is expressed amongst them by the word Many.

Their exercise or diversions are performed on horseback with their lances, and are adapted to improve their strength and make them fit for war. They have also an exercise which they perform on foot with a ball, not unlike cricket. In all their exercises, diversions, and fetes, of whatever kind, they are invariably naked.

The dress of an Indian in winter is a poncho, a piece of rug wound round his waist, like the chiripa of the peasants in this country, (*i. e.* Chile,

where waistbands are generally used,) and a pair of horse-skin boots, all manufactured by their women. In summer the poncho is but little worn, as the weather is sufficiently warm without it. The women wear a cloth round the waist, which reaches to the knees: a square piece of cloth is passed underneath the right arm-pit, the corners of which are made fast over, and in front of, the left shoulder, by a large silver skewer about 12 or 14 inches in length. Their breasts, which in general are immoderately large, and the greater part of the body, are entirely exposed to view. Their hair forms two long queues; which, being bound in selvages, covered with beads of divers colours, are brought round the forehead and temples like a band, the ends tying over the forehead. Their ear-rings are large square pieces of silver, rather thin, and hang down on the shoulders. They wear broad necklaces of various coloured beads, and bracelets of the same. Some of them also wear broad girdles round the waist, which are covered with gold and silver coins, beads, &c. The unmarried women are known by wearing bracelets on their legs, and their dresses are generally comparatively richer than those of the married women: by this superiority in dress, their fathers expect them to attract the attention of some rich warriors, who, to possess the fair, must give to her father some horses, money, ponchos, or an equivalent of some description, in exchange for his bride, who then becomes his slave, and whose life is from that moment at the disposition of her purchaser. Nor are females allowed any choice in the election of their conjugal masters. The avarice of the father is only consulted; and when a marriage or exchange of masters takes place, all the father's authority ceases, and the daughter looks on him only as a stranger, her filial love and obedience having been transferred with her person to her buyer.

The women are affable, generous, and attentive to strangers. Their features are by no means displeasing: there are some among them whose countenances are indicative of innate goodness; and, though their costumes are not calculated to make the most advantageous display of their charms, there are many of them pretty, and exceedingly interesting.

Many authors have supposed (and perhaps have had strong reasons for the supposition) that Patagonia was inhabited by a gigantic race of Indians: a contradiction from me would be as impertinent as unavailing against the torrent of opinion; but I will say, that I have not seen any of that race, nor could I learn from any information of the natives that such a people do or did exist.

They are of good stature, well made; and if compared with the diminutive

race of Peru, they will certainly appear to be large men; but are by no means larger than the generality of English and Germans. They live in a continual state of war, or preparation for war, among their own tribes, and against the Christians. Carrera succeeded in reconciling to each other all the rival chiefs; but such reconciliation cannot be of long duration.

The Indians are imperious and resentful; vehement in all their passions; jealous of their freedom and rights, and bold in maintaining them: they are exceedingly brave, but extremely cruel and fond of revenge; distrustful of those whom they know not; hospitable and faithful to those whom they recognise as friends; inveterate to their foes, neither forgiving an enemy or forgetting an injury.

During our residence in the country of the Indians various causes combined to render our soldiers insubordinate and mutinous; viz. their inactivity, want of pay, &c.; however we continued to punish them severely for every fault or disrespect, not overlooking the most trivial. In consequence of this, they projected a most villainous mutiny against the General and officers, and only waited the arrival of a party which was out on duty to effect their designs. — A soldier named San Martin was appointed general by the soldiers; the other officers necessary for the squadron were all selected from among themselves. Our division was formed of the prisoners taken in the battle of Maypu; and as they had all served under the Spanish government, they still retained an occult allegiance to Fernando. Their plan was, that after putting to death the General and officers, they would pass to the south of Chile, conducted by an Indian, and there join Benevides, who was fighting for the Spaniards.

Fortunately our soldiers were not all unfaithful. There were some of them who gave us exact information of the revolution, and swore to stand or fall with their officers; these were in the quickest time possible formed into one troop, and amounted to 40. With this troop and the officers we did not despair of suppressing the conspirators. The General affected to be ignorant of the conspiracy. The ammunition was secured by us, and the principal leaders of the conspirators were sent on duty to the toldos of different caciques who lived distant, and who had orders not to permit the soldiers to return without a second order from the General.

Having secured the ammunition, separated the conspirators and their principal leaders, and prepared ourselves to oppose whatever resistance might be offered, the General called the sergeants to his quarters, and made known to

them that he was well acquainted with their base plot, and prepared to punish them as they deserved. The sergeants retired; and soon as the soldiers were acquainted with the conference which had been held between them and the General, they began to regret having lost the confidence of their General, and laid all the blame to the chief of the conspirators, San Martin. They requested that the General would visit them, that they might personally beg his forgiveness. In consequence of which an order was read to the soldiers, intimating that the General would speak with them that evening, on the summit of the hill which overlooked the encampment.

On the evening parade the line was formed on the summit of the hill before mentioned. Soon as the General came in front they saluted, afterwards carried arms, and wheeled to the right and left on their centre to form a circle, in which the General stood, and from whence he harangued them for about an hour. He painted in such colours the enormity of their meditated crime, as caused several of the wretches to weep; they prayed to be forgiven and received into the General's favour, promising that the general tenor of their future conduct would be only calculated to bury in oblivion the remembrance of their past ingratitude and offences.

Having promised unconditional obedience, the General told them that (unless for some very flagrant offence) he would not permit the officers to punish them till such time as he would have it in his power to pay and clothe them regularly. He also told them to prepare immediately for marching to Chile, where each would be rewarded according to his services, and retired.

The soldiers, ashamed of their ingratitude, seemed now more than ever determined to support their General, and cut their way through whatever obstacles would oppose our march to Chile; and to keep them in this mood of mind, the General resolved not to allow them a moment's inactivity in future. General orders were issued, specifying the conduct which the General expected from the soldiers towards their officers, and also intimating that the latter should not wantonly or without good cause chastise or suppress the former. The day of our march was named, and emissaries were despatched to the surrounding caciques, to inform them that an imperious necessity impelled us to march immediately; and to return them our thanks for the hospitality which we had received in their country. The General also made known to them, that for the present he had no necessity of their aid, but would accept it in the first case of contingency which would occur. However, he offered to admit of a captain of each tribe accompanying him, that

he might have guides, in case it were necessary to retire to their country again, and also to show that he would not absolutely refuse the assistance they had offered him. Forty Indian captains accompanied us in our march from the toldos, and formed the escort of the General.

A few days after the commencement of our march, we were lost in an hitherto unexplored desert; and none of the Indians knowing whither to proceed, the General undertook to guide us by a pocket-compass and small map which he had in his possession. We were reduced to the most miserable condition; our provisions were entirely expended, in a country where water was extremely scarce, and in which no living creature was to be found, except serpents and other venomous reptiles. However, we continued our march, satisfying our hunger by killing and eating such horses as were unable to proceed farther; and after two days we came to a lake, the water of which was salt as that of the sea. Neither our men or horses were able to proceed on the march, so much had they suffered from the heat of the weather and want of water. The General gave orders that each troop should be divided into parties of five soldiers, and each party dig a well at a considerable distance from the brink of the lake, which was effected with much labour; and when they were sunk about five feet deep, the water began to spring: it was nauseous, and very brackish. However, it was a luxury; and we indulged ourselves so much with it, that we became very ill, and passed a most miserable night. From these wells fifteen hundred horses were also supplied, but many of them died that night. Next morning we took a quantity of water in barrels for our own use, and giving our horses again to drink, we continued our course by the compass. As there are no rivers in that part of the country, the lakes at an immense distance from each other, and almost universally of salt water, our fatigues were the same during our march as what have been already described, unless that use made our hardships more familiar to us, and consequently more supportable. At length, after a march of thirty-three days, we arrived on the frontier, some leagues farther northward than we had expected. We came to a farm-house on the frontiers of Cordova, where we found abundance of cattle, and a chacra well stocked with every kind of vegetables; which relief was most timely, as we should not have been able to continue our march two days longer, so much had we suffered from hunger and fatigue.

We had scarcely dined, when a guerilla of Cordoveses presented themselves; and as our horses were unfit for service, we waited their near approach.

A troop then mounted, and, accompanied by some Indians, went out to meet the enemy's guerilla, which they routed; and eight Indians who, were foremost in the pursuit, succeeded in taking a prisoner, whose life they spared in consequence of having received the General's order to kill no person, but bring as many to him as they could take alive. This prisoner was of great importance to us: he not only gave us all the necessary information relative to the country in which we were (and of which we were entirely ignorant), but also became our guide, and conducted us to the parts in which the enemy's horses were concealed, thereby affording us an opportunity to have our men remounted.

O'Higgins had sent money, arms, and ammunition to the governors of San Juan, Mendoza, San Luis, and Cordova, to engage these provinces as mercenaries to make war against us, and to oppose our march to Chile. The regiment called the Guardia de Honor, with such other detachments and officers as the Supreme Director thought worthy of his confidence from the other regiments, were also ordered to march out of Santiago de Chile, in order to cross the Andes, and assist the mercenaries in exterminating us: but these troops had only reached Chacabuco, when they were countermanded by O'Higgins, as, on second consideration, he was aware that no Chileno would fight against us; that, on the contrary, they would all pass to us and strengthen our lines. As Chilenos could not be trusted to oppose the man who had first led them against their oppressors, liberated their country, and expended his fortune in support of their independence; against the man whose rank, character, and benignity gained him the love and respect of his countrymen, whilst he was feared but by a few tyrants and usurpers, who were loathed by the country over which they had assumed an arbitrary authority; — it was thought that Chilian gold would have a better effect against him. A fresh supply of money was sent to the provinces, that they might raise a competent force to supply the place of the Chilians, who had been recalled: of that money Mendoza received 30,000 dollars, San Juan and Cordova the same sum each, and San Luis 12,000.

Our squadron consisted of 140 men, which, with forty Indians, the escort of the General, composed an entire force of 180 men, not including officers; and for the destruction of that small but much-feared band thousands took the field.

The privations and dangers over which we had from time to time triumphed, made us look with a degree of indifference on any misfortunes which could

possibly happen to us. Our soldiers were well mounted, and conscious of their own superiority over any troops which could be brought into the field against them. Carrera, with his few enthusiastic followers, continued his march, notwithstanding many divisions of the enemy had marched to intercept us. He despatched letters to the governors of Cordova and San Luis, informing them that it was his resolution to follow his route to Chile, with their consent, or by open force. That in case they gave their consent, every thing his soldiers received in their march should be paid for; and that, on his part, he would take care that no cause for hostility should be given. We continued to march without receiving any answer from these governments; and in Chajan, whilst we were unconscious of our danger, and unprepared to meet it, we were surprised by Bustos, governor of Cordova, at the head of 600 of his veterans, having previously placed 200 militia in ambuscade in our rear. Our encampment was in a small vale, surrounded by hills on every side. The sun being extremely hot, three sentries, who were posted on commanding eminences for the security of the camp, had lain down in shade of their horses, and there gone to sleep; hence we had no notice of the advance of the enemy until we saw them on the summit of the hill coming to the charge in two lines. Our soldiers were astonished at this unexpected surprise. Such as had horses saddled mounted them; and those who had not, caught their horses, bridled, and mounted them without saddles. The General had only time to take his sword and mount the horse of a woman, leaving his coat and hat behind: all was disorder and confusion, — no formation or time to form. Our men began to disperse and retire through a defile in our rear, in which Bustos' ambuscade was stationed; but about fourteen soldiers, with seven or eight Indians, stood firm to their ground, and resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They raised a terrific shout, and precipitated themselves on the enemy, regardless of their danger. The flying soldiers, looking behind and seeing their few companions engaged with the enemy, were ashamed of their momentary fear; and without any command, but as with one common impulse, they wheeled about, and, without waiting to form, rushed on the enemy with redoubled fury. The enemy could not withstand the impetuosity of the onset: their second in command, and the principal officers who commanded the first line, were killed; in consequence of which their first line gave way, and, falling back on the second, began to rally. But the fury of our soldiers and chosen band of Indians they could not withstand; they were broken, and obliged to trust to their horses

for safety. They were pursued six leagues, and received very little mercy from the enraged soldiers. The Indians, with their long lances, gratified themselves exceedingly on their enemies. Late in the evening the carnage abated; and fifty-four soldiers, with seven officers, were taken prisoners. We were employed that night in gathering those who were badly wounded on the field, and conducting them to our encampment, where they received every attention in our power to bestow; and next morning the field was again inspected, the arms gathered, and such wretches as were languishing under the pain of incurable wounds were shot from principles of humanity. The wounded who were dreadfully carved, but still curable, were sent under the charge of a guard of peasants to San Luis, with a letter from Carrera to the governor Ortiz, recommending them to his humanity. Ortiz, though he did not answer Carrera's first letter, answered the latter in such a polite manner as induced us to believe that he would sooner allow us to pass through his province unmolested than run the risk of opposing us.

We continued our route towards San Luis, and discovered on our right a faint glimmering light, which appeared and disappeared alternately. A party was sent to reconnoitre, and found an advanced guard, which they pursued. As the enemy's guard reached the line and gave the alarm, they supposed themselves attacked, and made several discharges. The flash from their arms, in a night extremely dark, showed their position and the extent of their line perfectly; but as the ground was covered with wood, and little known by us, we resolved to hold the position in which we were for that night, and attack them at day-break. Our party returned, having lost a few men; and the enemy effected a retreat, notwithstanding the darkness of the night. One of the enemy's guides deserted, and came to join us early next morning; from whom we learned, that the force which we had seen that night belonged to San Luis, consisted of 800 men, and was commanded by Colonel Videla and Lieutenant-Colonel Suasti, who were expecting large reinforcements every hour from San Juan, Mendoza, and Arioja, besides infantry which they expected from San Luis. Soon as daylight appeared we pursued the enemy; but could not overtake him, as he had had considerable advantage of us in the time of starting. However, after marching fifteen leagues, we arrived on the banks of the Rio Quinto, in whose thick impenetrable woods the Puntanos had taken up a position, in order to hinder us from obtaining water for ourselves and horses. They sent out a flag of truce, to inform the General that they had orders from their governor not to attack him, as Ortiz was coming out

to negotiate with him personally; and required that we should advance no farther. Carrera told them that he was willing to suspend hostilities for twenty-four hours, but that they should give up their position on the bank of the river and retire elsewhere. Suasti, who was the deputy of the enemy, refused to give up the ground which Carrera had required of him, and which (on account of the water) was absolutely necessary for us. Carrera desired he would immediately return to his troops, and, at the same time, gave orders that Colonel Benevente should prepare to carry the enemy's position by force. Suasti, seeing the General resolute, requested a few minutes to deliberate with his officers, which was granted him; and sooner than fight they consented to retire, and allowed us to take possession of the ground in dispute. We heard the enemy sound their march with a number of trumpets and bugles, but neither saw their force nor knew whither they retired. Suasti accompanied us to the place where we were to encamp for the night, when he had an opportunity of estimating our effective force. An officer arrived late in the evening with a letter from Governor Ortiz to General Carrera, which was to be answered next morning.

The ground which we occupied was a square of about 150 yards each way; one side was formed by the broad sandy beach of that part of the river; the opposite side by houses, corrales, gardens, and paling; and the other two sides by thick woods.

Early in the morn, when the General was in the act of answering the letter of Ortiz, the enemy's trumpets sounded in the woods in every direction, and soon after our advanced posts reported the advance of the enemy in several different quarters. The General could not suppose that this attack had the sanction of Ortiz, but rather supposed it to have originated in some mistake, and therefore sent an officer with a flag of truce to enquire into the cause of such dishonourable proceedings. The enemy received our flag of truce with fire, which sufficiently proved the baseness of their design: our outposts retired into the square, when we prepared for action. Some officers requested the General would give up to them the officer of the enemy who had brought Ortiz's despatches, and who was nothing less than a spy, that they might have him shot in front of our line, and in sight of his own, by way of commencement; but he appeared so very sad, and protested so earnestly that he was ignorant of the treachery of his countrymen, that the General, so far from giving him up to be shot, as was solicited, sent an officer with him to put him out of the reach of danger from our troops, that he might with safety

return to his army. The enemy now appeared, surrounding us completely, and began to pour in their guerillas, which were quickly repulsed by ours. On the opposite shore of the river their strongest parties appeared; and we expected that an attack would be made from that quarter, as many of their parties were seen uniting themselves there. They were charged by about 100 men, and completely routed.

During this time, the General had received information from one of the guides, that at about one league's distance, in the middle of the wood, there was a spacious opening entirely clear of trees, where we might charge the enemy to some advantage. The General formed our men in column, and we began our march for the plain. The enemy did not interrupt us in our march through the woods (probably because they found it impracticable to bring their whole force to act against us); but they anticipated our design, and were in the plain of the Pulgar before us, where they waited our arrival, and presented us battle in the border of the wood. The General ordered our men to wheel about and retire, in order to draw them into the centre of the plain, that they might not be able to shelter themselves in their native shades; but they understood it in another light. Owing to the superiority of their numbers, they supposed that we were deterred, and determined to fly from their vengeance. They pursued us, and promised themselves as easy a victory as that which they had obtained over the Spaniards, whom they massacred in San Luis; but when they came into the centre of the plain, we wheeled about and offered them battle. They immediately halted, and seemed quite astonished at an unexpected change of front. Confusion now seemed to take pace in their formation; they saw that our retreat was but to draw them out of the woods, and no doubt began to recollect the fate of the Cordoveses in Chajan, which made a great impression on them, as they had seen the wounded which we sent to San Luis, and heard their description of that action. But their superiority in numbers, still left them room to hope. Their line was handsomely formed. The right flank consisted of 200 cavalry, formed in line of battle, and supported by a column of reserve of 200 men, at about 50 yards in their rear; their left flank was exactly of the same strength and formation. Their centre was occupied by 100 infantry, covered from our view by a single rank of cavalry, which defiled to the right and left, and uncovered them as soon as we charged them. About 100 yards to the right of their line was a guerilla, which seemed destined to attack us in flank soon as the attack would commence. Opposed

to this guerilla, on the enemy's right, an officer was stationed with 20 men. Opposed to their right flank were 50 soldiers and 10 Indians, formed in a single line, with about three yards between every two soldiers, in the manner of skirmishers or tiradores. We opposed to their left flank the same number of men, in the same weak formation. Their infantry, in the centre, remained without any antagonists in our line; yet with all our economy we could not cover the front of their cavalry. The number of our effective men who entered in action was 140; the enemy's force exceeded 1000. But if the line of battle which we presented to the enemy was contemptible, our reserve made amends for it, as it was rather numerous, and commanded much respect from the Puntanos. It consisted of 80 women, whom we had bought of the Indians; about 15 or 20 Chilian women, wives of the soldiers; 54 Cordoveses, prisoners taken in Chajan; and a number of our own wounded men. This reserve was commanded by seven of the Cordovese officers, prisoners of war, and held a position about 50 yards in our rear, in a well-formed and formidable-looking line.

All being ready on both sides, our soldiers and Indians advanced to the charge with their usual intrepidity. The enemy's cavalry, though about eight or nine to one, despaired of success and fled. They were pursued with a degree of zeal, and the field left pretty well strewn with them; and arriving on the banks of the Rio Quinto, several of them threw themselves headlong down the precipice sooner than meet the rage of the soldiers. In the meantime, the infantry, who remained in the centre of the plain, kept up a fire on our reserve of women; who stood it astonishingly well, without ever betraying a feminine fear or a desire to retreat. A few soldiers, who had remained to observe the infantry, returned their fire, and kept them engaged till the rest of our men returned from the chace of the cavalry, when they were formed in order to charge the infantry, who were first summoned to surrender; but either from actual bravery, or owing to an expectation of the reunion and assistance of their dispersed cavalry, they declined to surrender.

The order was given to charge; and notwithstanding their heavy fire, our men rushed on at full speed of their horses, overran and broke their square: the fire ceased; and in a few minutes this brave band of assassins lay dreadfully mangled in a heap, not one officer or soldier escaping.

Thus died the chief supporters of Dupuy, the murderers of the Spaniards in San Luis; they were the bravest men we had seen among our enemies, and fought to the very last man. The officer who commanded them bore an

excellent character, and deserved a better fate. This action was directed in chief by Colonel Don Luis Videla, and the second in command was Lieutenant-Colonel Suasti, both famous officers of San Martin; and the latter was a member of the *Legion of Merit of Chile*, and his character was such as is generally necessary for the members of that institution.

We had now acquired more arms, ammunition, and horses, than we had any necessity for: the surplus was destroyed. The 54 Cordovese prisoners were, at their own request, admitted to take arms in our line; and the seven officers who were chiefs of the reserve got their liberty, and passports to return to Cordova, after having been five days prisoners.

From the field of battle we began our march, in order to make the most of our advantage by entering the town of San Luis, and organising a government which would be favourable to our views. We encamped in the Chorillas, one league from the town; and an officer's guard was immediately sent to the town to prevent disorders of any kind.

Here Carrera received despatches from Ramirez, informing him that he was about to cross the Parrana with 4000 men, reminding him of his danger in exposing himself to his numerous enemies with so small a force, and inviting him to accompany him in his operations against Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé; and also telling him, that at the conclusion of the campaign he would give him as many squadrons of horse as might be thought necessary to accompany him to Chile.

We had notice from our spies and correspondents that Bustos was again marching with a fresh army to incorporate himself with the Mendocinos Sanjuanos, and Puntanos, in the province of San Luis; that in a few days this junction of forces would be effected, and would amount to 5000 men. The spirit of our soldiers was still unbroken; nay, they almost fancied themselves invincible; but their number was considerably decreased by the losses of the two latter actions in killed and wounded. Our men who were fit for service did not exceed 100; with which number it would have been preposterous to hope for success against our numerous enemies. Under these circumstances, Carrera called a council of his officers, who were unanimously of opinion that the best means of securing the advantages which we had gained, and of ensuring our future success, was to begin our retreat to the frontier of Santa Fé, or Buenos Ayres, and there to wait the arrival of Ramirez. We began our retreat accordingly; and next day we took the officer who had been liberated by Carrera the morning of the action with the Puntanos pri-

soner: he was accompanied by an Alcalde, Ortiz, and both were spies; however, Carrera again liberated him, and recommended him to the attention of the officers.

From the neighbourhood of Lobay the General took an escort, and proceeded to Melingue, to reconnoitre the frontier, and hear if Ramirez had crossed the Parrana. In the meantime we dispersed a division of Bustos which came to surprise us near the Tunas. From thence Bustos retired to the Punta Sause, a town on the Riotercero; where he shut himself up, and fortified the place.

The Indians having had no intelligence of us from the time of our departure from the toldos, had sent 400 men in search of us, as they were anxious to hear what had become of us. These Indians came up with us on the frontier of Buenos Ayres, when we were endeavouring to surprise La Madrid. As the General wished rather to interest the peasants in his favour than deter them by the presence of the Indians, he took a great quantity of mares, and giving them to the Indians, dismissed them to their country, assuring them that they should frequently hear from him, and that he would call on them for assistance whenever he found it necessary. Three of the Indian captains remained with us as guides, in case we should be obliged at any time to return to the country of the Indians, or call on them for any force.

As Ramirez could not for the present cross the Parrana, owing to the superiority of the Porteñian squadron on the river, Carrera determined to go into the province of Cordova in search of Bustos, who had so diligently followed us. Bustos' experience had taught him not to wish to meet us in the field; he therefore determined to fight us only under the protection of his batteries or entrenchments. He remained in his fortifications in Sause with 500 men; and we besieged him there fourteen days with 200 men, including his own soldiers who were taken in Chajan: we encamped close by the town; and our guerillas kept the enemy always annoyed in the trenches, notwithstanding the advantage of their artillery, which was sometimes used but to very little purpose. Finding it impossible to draw Bustos from his fortifications, or to assault him in them, we left him in possession of his town, and proceeded through all the other towns of the province, which we reduced, with the exception of the city of Cordova.

We began to recruit our regiment, which soon augmented to 500, all of

which were regular soldiers; and besides these, we had 800 militia, under the command of Colonel Don Felipe Alvarez.

The sierras or mountains of Cordova were considered impenetrable to an army, particularly of cavalry; but as Bustos' chief force was cantoned in different parts of the mountains, we attempted to search them out. The country people assisted us as guides, and we marched for Salta; where we were surprised whilst at dinner in a wood: the guard kept the enemy employed whilst the squadron formed; the enemy was then charged and routed, a considerable number killed, and some prisoners taken. The Cordoveses retired to the mountains, whither we followed them closely; many skirmishes ensued, but all ended in the destruction and dispersion of the enemy, without any considerable loss on our side. The last of the regulars of Bustos in these mountains having long witnessed our success, and formed an adequate idea of their danger in opposing us, passed to us under the orders of their sergeants and corporals, permitting their officers to escape. The sierras being entirely subdued, Don Manuel Arrias was appointed commandant of the district, and raised 300 militia to remain there; whilst we returned to the Villa de Concepcion, and thence marched to the city of Cordova, to form a junction with the division of Colonel Pintos, who was then encamped on the north side of the city.

We had Cordova besieged for some days by the militia of Colonel Pintos on the north, and by our division and that of Colonel Alvarez, on the south. The enemy's guerillas and outposts being beaten into the city, Bedoya, who was *governador intendente*, and now commanded in chief in Cordova, drew all his forces to occupy the plaza, leaving all the rest of the city unprotected. The citizens of every rank were in our favour; and were it not for an accident which happened to Ramirez, who had just crossed the Parrana, we should have taken the city: an express arrived from him, stating that he was closely pursued by his enemies, and requesting Carrera to march immediately to his assistance. Carrera could not hear of the danger of his friend without flying to his succour. He left Colonel Pintos, with other officers of practical knowledge, to carry on the siege; but as their force only consisted of militia, they were surprised by a sally of the besieged, and entirely defeated.

Ramirez had sent 1000 infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mansilla, to attack Santa Fé, whilst he passed the river near Coronda with 700 cavalry, leaving in the Bajada 2700 ready for embarkation. Mansilla

disembarked under the fire of the forts and gun-boats of Santa Fé, and took the batteries and plaza by assault. Ramirez having landed at the Barrancas near Corronda, sent out 100 men towards Rosario to collect horses; who, when returning, were pursued by 700 men of the division of La Madrid. Perez, the officer who commanded this small party of Ramirez, drove all his horses in the van, and fought in retreat against the sevenfold force of the Porteños from Rosario to San Lorenzo, a distance of five leagues, without losing any of the horses which he had taken. In San Lorenzo Perez was reinforced by 100 men more; he then charged the Porteños, and drove them back to Rosario. La Madrid put his whole division in march, in order to form a junction with Lopez, governor of Santa Fé, that their united forces might oppose Ramirez, who still remained encamped in the Barrancas waiting the arrival of his troops. La Madrid had marched all night; and early in the morning coming to the Barrancas, where he expected Lopez to meet him, he found the weather so extremely hazy, that an object could not be discerned at thirty yards' distance. He therefore fired a piece of artillery, as a signal to Lopez to repair to the place appointed for their union.

Ramirez, who was but a few hundred yards distant, conceived that the enemy was at hand, and with great silence prepared for action. Some officers of the enemy, who were riding in front of their column with the guides, perceived Ramirez's line at a few yards' distance, and returning immediately to La Madrid, reported the same; and Ramirez found himself in a few minutes surrounded completely. Ramirez's force consisted of 700 men; they were formed on the bank of the river, with a small interval between each troop. The force of La Madrid was about 2840 men; his line formed a crescent, the extremities of which were placed on the bank of the river. Ramirez, though a brave soldier, had little eloquence to harangue his men on this occasion: he merely pointed to the river in their rear; and then showing them their flanks and front covered by the enemy, he exclaimed, "Muchachos, "de aqui no hay retirada!" The charge was sounded, and the orientals obeyed it with their usual promptitude. The Porteños waited them *pie firme;* and when but a few yards distant made a general discharge of artillery and small arms, by which upwards of ninety of Ramirez's men fell; however, the remainder intermingled with the enemy, and soon put them in disorder. The Porteños, long accustomed to be conquered by these troops, were again obliged to yield, and were pursued with great slaughter, the whole division being entirely dispersed or destroyed. The soldiers of Ramirez were well

rewarded for their exertions. The military chest of the Porteños contained 30,000 dollars, part of which belonged to Lopez and the Santafecinos. These were equally divided amongst the soldiers, together with carts of baggage, &c.: four pieces of artillery, with an ammunition waggon, remained on the field; and the most valuable prize of all was a large bag of official letters from all the united provinces, which was taken in the baggage of La Madrid. By these letters we were made acquainted with the very minutiæ of our enemy's circumstances, and their united efforts against us, from Buenos Ayres to Chili.

This success was of short duration; for Ramirez, proud of the victory which he had gained, and intoxicated with the congratulations of a fair amazon who accompanied him to the war, attacked at nightfall the division of Santafecinos under Lopez, against the wish of his officers; who urged the darkness of the night, and the fatigue of the soldiers since the action of the morning, as sufficient reasons for deferring the action till the morning. Ramirez would admit of no delay: his plan was, that his whole force, formed in columns, should charge by divisions successively, when and where their exertions would be most necessary. After explaining this new plan of attack to his officers, he ordered the first division to charge, which was done: the first division being warmly received by the Santafecinos, he ordered the second to reinforce them. Lopez's line was broken; and, owing to the darkness of the night, similarity of uniform and language, a dreadful confusion ensued: they could not distinguish whether their blows were directed against friends or enemies; but, overheated by passion and animosity, they continued to fight with each other. The Santafecinos, aided by the general confusion and darkness of the night, escaped from the field unperceived, and continued to retreat, supposing themselves pursued by the orientals. The fight still continued between Ramirez's first and second divisions. Ramirez, thinking that the Santafecinos still maintained the conflict, ordered the third and fourth divisions to the assistance of the first and second, and afterwards went himself with the reserve; when, observing the men closely, he distinguished by their caps that they were all his own men: but, even after the discovery of the fatal mistake, it was with much difficulty that the soldiers could be separated, as the clamour was so great, that Ramirez, or those who assisted him, could scarcely be heard. By this imprudence of Ramirez nearly one half his men fell by the hands of their own comrades. Lopez had not suffered much in the fray, as he retired early; but being informed next day of the misfortune of Ramirez, he prepared to attack him. Ramirez was

obliged to retreat, and seek our protection in the province of Cordova, leaving the artillery, &c. which he had acquired behind him. Mansilla, who had taken Santa Fé, not having positive orders how to act, and hearing of Ramirez's loss, evacuated the town, and embarking his troops crossed the Parrana, to wait further orders in the Bajada. Thus all communication was cut off between Ramirez and his province. We met Ramirez at the Passo de Ferreira, on the Rio Tercero. He still had nearly 400 men.

Bustos all this time remained shut up in his fortifications at Sause, and we marched, together with Ramirez, to assault him in his trenches; but having had notice of our movement, he quitted his strong hold in order to unite himself with Lopez and La Madrid, then in the Posta del Esquina, near the line of demarkation between Cordova and Santa Fé. There was a great number of carts in Sause, which he brought with him to fortify himself if attacked on his march. We arrived at Sause, and found that he had retreated two days before; we therefore left all our heavy baggage in that town with a detachment, and redoubled our marches in pursuit of him.

Doña Delfina, the lady who accompanied Ramirez, was a fair Porteña, who "loved him for the battles he had fought" against her countrymen, and the victories he had gained over them; and his love for her was unfortunately the cause of his present errors, and afterwards of his death. — As this lady's frame was too delicate long to endure the fatigues of a forced march, several halts were made on her account. When close by Bustos, at least within eight leagues of him, we were obliged to halt the whole night, that she might, by reposing, recover some strength with which she might support the toils which were anticipated for the next day. But Bustos, during our halts, reached the Cruzo Alta, where he fortified himself. Next morning we arrived before the town; and, forming our divisions, an aid-de-camp was sent to Bustos to intimate his unconditional surrender, and threaten him with the consequences of an assault, if he should refuse. Fifteen minutes were allowed Bustos for the return of his answer; but he did not hesitate a moment: he replied to the officer, that the "Federal arms were never to be "surrendered, nor could be obtained, but at the expense of the blood of "those who carried them." The officer returned with this answer, and we prepared to assault the town. (Bustos here calls *his* the Federal army. At the time when he was first put in possession of the government of the province of Cordova by Carrera and Ramirez, his army was called The Third Division of the Federal Army; and now, though an apostate from the political tenets

which he then professed, though an ally of Buenos Ayres, and a mercenary of Chile, he had either ignorance or impudence enough to assume the name of Federalist.)

The Cruz Alta is a village which has been for some time fortified against the incursions of the Northern Indians. There are three small forts at right angles, formed by palisades, earth, &c., besides many impenetrable *corrales de tunas** : one side of the triangle was protected by a line of carts made fast to each other; the other two were formed by cheveaux-de-frise, houses, yards, &c. These small forts were well manned, and a piece of artillery in each: the intervals between each of the forts were occupied by light infantry behind their works. The cavalry of the enemy were few, and had been beaten by our guerillas into the plaza on our first arrival in the morning. Bustos' whole force was about 580 men; our division, with that of Ramirez, was more than 1200.

Three hundred of our men dismounted, to act against the forts as infantry, and were to have been protected by the whole of the cavalry. All being ready for the attack, our infantry, sustained by the cavalry, advanced on the right and left flanks of the town: a heavy fire commenced. Our men continued to advance, and dislodged the enemy from an outpost, and afterwards took the fort to which it belonged: in that moment Ramirez rode up and ordered the cavalry to charge. We then galloped close in front of the enemy's line under a heavy fire, and entered the plaza; where we found nothing but horses, Bustos' cavalry having abandoned them, and escaped into the forts. We remained in the plaza for some minutes covered with dust and smoke, and exposed to the enemy's fire in every direction. Our infantry were aware that their fire crossed the plaza, and would be as offensive to us as to the enemy; they therefore ceased firing. After being some time in the plaza without being able to do any thing against the enemy, we retired with a degree of confusion; and our infantry (seeing so much disorder prevail among us) also retired, abandoning the advantageous posts they had gained, which were quickly re-occupied by the enemy. We again formed our infantry and cavalry before the town, and, on inspection, it appeared that all the ammunition was very nearly expended; we could not replace it till our return to Sause, where we had left our ammunition and baggage: it was, therefore, out of our power to renew the action, which the indiscretion of Ramirez had lost by his devi-

* Enclosures, the hedges of which were made of the Cactus opuntia.

ation from the plan previously understood by the officers, and by his unaccountably exposing the cavalry in a place where they ought not to have been employed, as they could be of no service. We remained before the town two days, and then returned to Sause, leaving Bustos unmolested to effect his junction with his allies, Lopez and La Madrid. We lost between forty and fifty men in the assault; the enemy's loss could not be so little: Bustos, however, gratified his allies by reporting that he knew from good authority that our loss in killed and wounded was not less than 300 men, and even gave them a description of the manner in which we buried our soldiers to keep our loss unknown, &c. On our arrival in Sause, we were informed by our spies of the operations of our enemies. Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, Cordova, San Juan, San Luis, and Mendoza, had sent out divisions against us.

The Padre Guiraldes was sent as a deputy from Mendoza, under pretence of negotiating a peace or neutrality on the part of that province, whilst his real object was to cause a revolution amongst the officers of Carrera. Don Juan Jose Benevente, a resident of Mendoza, and brother to our colonel, was obliged by the government to give a private letter to Guiraldes by way of recommendation to the Colonel; and in which he conjured his brother to accede to the propositions which the holy father would make him, as the good of the country and his own safety and welfare depended on them. The conditions were to be privately made known to the Colonel, who was expected to disseminate the seeds of sedition among the officers. The following are the ideas which were conveyed to us in Father Guiraldis' mission.—That Carrera and his division had done the greatest injuries to the nation; nevertheless, there was yet an opportunity for the officers to make reparation for the evils to which they had been accessaries, by abandoning the standard of anarchy and enrolling themselves under that of the Patria, leaving Carrera alone with his soldiers, to receive the just punishment which the nation would think proper to inflict. Some compliments were paid to the understanding of the officers, and the *Patria* anticipated that these propositions would be joyfully received by us; for though *we had the misfortune to have been misguided*, they flattered themselves we were still zealous for the public good, and would avail ourselves of this opportunity of showing it. In return for this important service, the Colonel was to be promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and every officer receive a rank above that which he held in the service of Carrera; our commissions were to be, not from any particular province or government, but from the nation, which are considered the most honourable. There was nothing

in these stipulations relative to the *legion of merit;* but had we performed the service required of us, no doubt we should have been admitted into that meritorious and worthy fraternity.

When Guiraldes' secret commission was made known by the Colonel, it was looked on and treated with the contempt and ridicule which it merited. He was seized and brought before the General, who became his confessor, to whom he disclosed his secrets, and was then given up a prisoner to the guard; from whence he escaped in the confusion of an action, a few days after. From Sause, we marched towards Frayle Muerto, when a misunderstanding taking place between the generals, they parted. Our division took the route for the frontiers of the province of San Luis, in order to surprise the Mendocinos, who were encamped in Las Barranquitas: the division of Ramirez marched in a northerly direction, to return to Entre Rios by the way of Las Charcas. The causes whence this separation originated were various; the following were the principal ones: — Ramirez had for his secretary the celebrated priest Montarosa, who had been principal secretary to Artigas, and director of all his proceedings. He was much attached to his old master (Artigas), and consequently an enemy to Carrera and Ramirez. Carrera expostulated with Ramirez on the impropriety of having admitted such a person to accompany him, and desired that he would be sent back to Entre Rios; where, if he wished to show him any kindness, he could easily do it, without exposing himself to the consequences of having a person in his army likely to prove a traitor; but Ramirez had much confidence in this warlike priest, and could not think of discharging him. Our soldiers began to express their disgust towards those of Ramirez, imputing to them and their general the ill success of our attack on Cruz Alta, and the raising the siege of Cordova. Ramirez, though he had given himself up to pleasure in this more than in any former campaign, did not allow the smallest relaxation in the rigid discipline of his soldiers. In the midst of abundance they were stinted of meat, and severely punished for every trivial offence: this they considered rather hard; for as their general indulged all his appetites, they who ventured their lives in his defence thought themselves at least worthy of a sufficiency of food in an enemy's country, where it cost him nothing.

In consideration of these circumstances, Carrera thought it best to part with his friend before grievances would become more serious; and as it seemed to be of necessity, their separation caused no abatement in their friendship. The day subsequent to our separation, an aide-de-camp of Ramirez came up

with us, bearing a letter from his general to Carrera; in which Ramirez solicited the re-union of their forces, the guidance of every thing to be left to Carrera, and Montarosa to remain merely in the character of a priest, who, he again assured him, was no longer the friend of Artigas, but faithful to their interests.

Carrera answered this letter by assuring his friend, that where the insidious friar Montarosa existed, he would never expose himself or his soldiers. But, even independent of that objection, he told him, that the only means of escaping the vigilance of our numerous enemies was by separating, that we might thereby draw their attention in different quarters, and so by dividing them conquer them separately. He concluded by giving him his opinion on the line of conduct which he supposed would be most eligible for him to follow in his march, and assuring him of his unchanging friendship.

Besides the official correspondence, the aide-de-camp was the bearer of a private proposition from the officers of Ramirez, offering to leave their general, and pass with all the soldiers to Carrera, if he would receive or admit them to do so. This proposition Carrera heard with horror and astonishment. He told the aide-de-camp that he was sorry the officers had formed so very illiberal an opinion of him as to have supposed him capable of treating his friend in that manner. He also told the aide-de-camp, that he would not inform Ramirez, as he hoped they would never again think of committing so heinous a crime; that if their general had been led into error, he stood in the greater need of their firm support; that whatever his weaknesses might be, they never could efface his glories; that he never expected to hear of such brave officers as those of Ramirez staining their dear-bought honours by the base crime of abandoning the general who so often had led them to conquer, &c.

The aide-de-camp returned with the letter of Carrera to his general, and with the above-cited reproofs to the officers. Several of Ramirez's soldiers and sergeants deserted, and some of them followed our division.

As we were about to leave the province of Cordova our division was much reduced by desertion, as many soldiers whom we had recruited in that province, and nearly all the militia, returned to their homes.

The enemy trusting to his numbers came out in search of us; and succeeded in intercepting our rear-guard, which had under its care a great number of waggons, baggage, sick and wounded men, prisoners, women, &c. The Mendocinos fell on them at day-break, and put all to the sword, not

excepting the sick and wounded who were festering in their sores. In these waggons the General's papers were taken, and despatched to Mendoza as the most authentic and unequivocal proof of the important victory they had gained. We marched from the Arroyo on which we were encamped, immediately on hearing of the massacre of the guard and wounded men; and in two days we fell in with the enemy, who was also in search of us. 'Twas early, and the morning was extremely dark and foggy, when the flankers of our left discovered the Mendocinos' encampment in the woods, on the banks of the Rio Quarto; and as they knew we were encamped close to them that night, they were prepared, and came out to meet us. The ground being woody and uneven we retreated, leaving a strong guerilla to protect our retreat, during which it was engaged with the enemy's van. We at length arrived on a fine plain near the Villa de Concepcion, where we halted and gave front to the enemy. General Morou, who commanded the Mendocinos, from his success over the wounded and the small guard which escorted them, supposed he would have little difficulty in defeating us. He formed his men in two divisions, with a strong guerilla on their right, which advanced to attack us. Our squadrons were formed in line of battle, with a reserve in the rear of only 40 men; the women, who generally augmented that corps, having been taken with our baggage two days previous. A guerilla of our lancers charged and repulsed that of the enemy; which being reinforced, our party were obliged to retire, and were pursued in their retreat. The whole line of the Mendocinos now advanced to the charge, as did ours to meet them. At a few yards' distance from each other both lines made an involuntary halt: an awful pause ensued, till Colonel Benevente peremptorily ordered the line to advance; the same expedient was used by General Morou, who came in front of the Mendocinos' line and led them on. The lines closed, the action commenced; and General Morou, after exchanging a few blows, was the first who fell beneath the superior arm of one of our soldiers. The fight between their second division and our whole line was obstinate; but their first division and the guerilla of their right out-flanked us, so that we were then charged in flank, front and rear, or completely surrounded. The action now presented very little hope to us; our line was broken and obliged to fly, but was at length rallied again by Colonel Benevente and the officers. The charge was renewed with vigour, and the Mendocinos were beat back several hundred yards beyond the ground where the action began; when they were reinforced by 200 men, who awaited our arrival in formation and

charged us. They easily succeeded in routing us, as we were not more than 50, and not in formation.. The day was extremely dark; and not being able to see any of our men, we considered the action lost, and ourselves the only remnant of the fugitives. We were chased by the enemy a considerable distance; when falling in with a large party in our front, which we supposed to be enemies, and which proved to be Colonel Benevente with all the force he could collect, we again charged the Mendocinos, routed and entirely dispersed them, which terminated the action. There was not a shot fired except by the guerillas in the commencement of the action. We lost 80 men, and a few officers; the enemy lost their general and all their best officers: their loss in killed we never ascertained, as we marched immediately off the field in pursuit of those who had escaped. We retook our waggons, and the women who were prisoners with them. In this action our effective force did not exceed 300, the Mendocinos' were 1400.

We marched directly to Concepcion, which was the point of re-union for the enemy, where we found 150 men, who abandoned the town, and retreated precipitately for the sierra; but as their horses were all fatigued in the action, and without any others to replace them, we came up with them at nightfall, and summoned them to surrender; but whilst their commanding officer, Colonel Quiroga, was treating with Carrera, the soldiers passed the river in their rear unnoticed in the night, and dispersed, every one pursuing a different route: this was all Carrera wished—their total dispersion.

We continued our route for San Luis, taking many of the dispersed officers and soldiers prisoners in our march. This late action (in the idea of the peasants) established our good fortune on supernatural principles. They had an opportunity of seeing the enemy's troops and ours, and could not conceive how the few soldiers of Carrera could be so frequently victorious over the numerous divisions of their enemies; however, they attributed the cause to a communication with dæmons or familiar spirits which were subservient to Carrera, as the most easy way of accounting for the effect. Carrera being advanced with a party a few days subsequent to the action, entered a cottage, where he passed himself on the people for an officer of Mendoza coming with reinforcements against Carrera, and made many enquiries relative to the situation and operations of the Carrerinos, or people of Carrera. The old woman told him, that all his countrymen had been killed by Carrera a few day ago, in the action of Concepcion or Rio Quarto; and conjured him by all the saints to make his escape as quick as possible to Mendoza,

as Carrera could not be far distant: that he had not many men with him; but when it was necessary to fight, he only took a piece of white paper from his pocket, muttered a curse, and threw it in the air, when troops sprung up from the ground, sent to him by the devil, with whom he was in league: hence he was always victorious.

Carrera was infinitely pleased with his excursion, and retired with every mark of conviction relative to the truth of the old woman's doctrine.

We continued to march towards San Luis, and met no difficulties on our route. The town had been abandoned by Ortiz the governor, and we encamped in Las Chorillas, one league from the town: the General, with a guard, lived in the town, the more effectually to prevent excesses on the part of the soldiers. In a few days, —— Ximenes was elected governor for the time being, by the cabildo; and San Luis declared in our favour. The lady of Ortiz was sent to him under the care of an escort, carrying with her every thing she thought necessary: a guard was placed in Ortiz's house, to take care that nothing should be injured which belonged to him. The General also sent him a letter by his lady, inviting him to return to San Luis, and continue in the exercise of his government; but Ortiz (though not averse to Carrera's political ideas) was overawed by the many enemies who were determined to effect our destruction, and would not return, or accept his government from Carrera.

In San Luis we had information of the death of General Ramirez, in an action (if it may be so called) against the Santafecinos and Cordoveses. The circumstances of his death are the following:—He had reached the frontiers of Santiago del Estero; and being advanced with a guard of thirty men at a considerable distance from his division, he was suddenly surprised at the Rio Seco, and charged by 400 men. The guard could not resist such a force, but was soon beaten and put to the route. Ramirez, who had his fair charge (Doña Delfina) by his side, disdained to abandon her or shrink from danger, though he must have been aware that his single exertions could not suffice to rescue her from the enemy. He fought desperately by her side, and despatched several of his foes, but at length fell beneath the swords of the merciless multitude that assailed him.

Ramirez was of a low stature, very dark complexion, and disagreeable countenance. He seems to have had a strong capacious mind, and possessed natural abilities; but they were entirely uncultivated by education. He was a poor politician; but the best qualities of a soldier were concentred in him in

a high degree: he was open and frank, a stranger to dissimulation, true to his friend, and in point of personal bravery was exceeded by none.

During our stay in San Luis, two revolutions were set on foot against us: the one by four officers of our own division; the other by Aldao, and some officers of the enemy who had been prisoners with us, and who having received their liberty from the General, still chose to follow our division and remain under our protection, probably to embrace the first opportunity of betraying us.

The cause of this division among our own officers may be accounted for by observing, that three of them, who had commanded parties in the country, and acted in a way highly derogatory to the character which they represented (by not only allowing their soldiers to plunder several villages, but actually receiving their proportion of the booty, thereby injuring the general character of the officers, as well as the cause in which we were engaged), were impeached by the other officers, who requested of the General that they might be brought to trial, and dismissed for their ill conduct. As these officers were much beloved by the men, on account of the many liberties which they allowed them, the General did not at that time think it prudent to bring them to punishment, as it might cause a desertion among the soldiers; but he named a military tribunal, over which the Colonel was to preside; and which on our arrival at San Juan was to be invested with full power to take cognisance of, and enquire into, the conduct of every officer in the past campaigns; bring all such as were obnoxious to trial, and subject them (according to the nature of their crimes) to such punishment as a court-martial might think fit to impose. This determination of the General, though it was intended to have been kept unknown to the greater part of the officers, came to the knowledge of some of those whose characters would not bear scrutiny, and therefore they began to exert all their influence with the soldiers to induce them to desert and follow them. At the head of this mutiny was Don Manuel Arias, who has been mentioned before as appointed commandant of the Sierra de Cordova. Arias was aged about forty-five; and though not a soldier, as he was the richest and most respectable gentleman who resided in the sierra, where his influence with the inhabitants was considerable, Carrera thought him the fittest person to nominate to the command of that district. He had 300 militia left him when we raised the siege of Cordova, and in our absence he was attacked and easily defeated; from which time he fol-

lowed our division for protection, and merely as an individual without authority or occupation.

On our arrival in San Luis he was appointed to act as commissary, in which his conduct was not altogether unexceptionable: he was superseded by another civilian follower in that office; and then having the entire disposal of his own time, he employed it in successfully addressing a young lady of the town, whom he induced to elope with him; but as he was married and had a large family, the General took the lady from him, and made known to her who and what Arias was. Arias addressed this young woman under the character of a single man and an officer of Carrera, without being either; but so great an ascendancy had he gained over her affection, that though undeceived, she was willing to sacrifice all other feelings to her love and follow him. Carrera delivered her to her relations, who kept her as a prisoner as long as we remained in the town. Such were the grievances which induced Arias to take a part in the mutiny. One of the officers of the mutiny (Moya) was to receive the sister of Arias in marriage on their return to the sierra; but how they intended to employ the troops we have never been able to learn.

The loyalty of our soldiers disconcerted both the one and the other of these revolutions. The plans of the conspirators never came to the knowledge of the General till after his imprisonment by them, having been conducted with admirable secrecy; and it is remarkable, that the parties which conspired were ignorant of each other's views and motives for mutinying.

The General was not well acquainted with the nature of the country through which we had to pass; and all his officers being equally ignorant of it, he was obliged to consult with guides who were traitors, and who had nothing in view but our destruction: amongst these Aldao was the principal; and he was sufficiently skilled in dissimulation to make the General believe that he was sincerely attached to his interests. The guides highly recommended the route to San Juan, which coincided with the ideas of Carrera, as his plan was, to remain in San Juan till the passage of the cordillera would open, organise an army of two or three thousand men, and pass into Coquimbo, where he would have received the capitulation of O'Higgins without any hostilities in Chile.

The General having determined on the route of San Juan, sent out parties in the road of Mendoza, which attacked and routed the advanced posts of the Mendocinos: by this he expected to impress on the minds of our ene-

mies the idea that our march would be in that direction, and thereby distract their attention; but the enemy received correct information from our guides, and made the necessary preparations to meet us.

On the 21st of August, 1821, we marched from San Luis towards San Juan. Ximenes, who acted as governor of San Luis, accompanied us with eighty Puntanos; the greater part of whom deserted when we approached the enemy.

Our horses were miserably reduced in our encampments at San Luis, as there was no grass but what was artificially produced, and it had been destroyed by the enemy's horses previous to our arrival. On our march to San Juan we too late discovered the country to be an uninhabited and sandy desert, scarce of water, and producing no kind of vegetation, except some copses of stunted brushwood; the decayed branches of which were the only food of our horses in the march of eighty leagues. The guides every day promised that the next we might expect to meet pasture for the horses; and so brought us on insensibly, till at length we had advanced too far to think of receding. A division of the enemy had occupied San Luis a few days after we evacuated it; and if we retreated, the enemy would have an opportunity of uniting their forces.

We had an expectation of receiving horses in San Juan; on the realisation of which depended all our hopes. We still continued to advance; and on the 29th of August we met a strong detachment of the enemy on the banks of the river of San Juan prepared to dispute the passage. The river was wide, deep, and difficult to ford: the pass was, however, carried with little loss, and the enemy dispersed. We continued our march towards San Juan, the principal force of which was encamped in the Ligua, a plain some distance from the town; and we encamped close to them that night, and expected to attack them in the morning.

In our division there were not twenty horses fit for service; and by a prisoner who had been taken that day, the General was informed that in Guanacacho (about eight leagues distant, on the road to Mendoza), there were horses; and also, that the Mendocinos were in march, and hourly expected to join the San-Juaninos. This intelligence made Carrera alter his plan of attacking the San-Juaninos at day-break; instead of which we marched towards Guanacacho, in order to possess ourselves of the horses which were there, and intercept the Mendocinos in their march before they should form a junction with the force of San Juan.

Experience had taught our soldiers that their success and safety depended not less on the quality of their horses, than on the superiority of their courage; and though they did not murmur, they universally desponded of success, and considered themselves as marching to deliver themselves into the hands of their enemies,—victims, without the means of offering any resistance.

A friend of Carrera's in San Juan had sent 400 horses to a potrera in the vicinity of Pie de Palo, and a letter to Carrera, directing him where he should march to take those horses; and also informing him, that the town was entirely in our favour; and that 300 of the veteran infantry, which had belonged to No. 1. regiment, were ready to pass to us soon as we should attack the plaza. This letter was unfortunately intercepted by the enemy, who took the necessary measures for their security, possessed themselves of the horses alluded to, and put into prison all suspected persons.

A party of thirty men, the best mounted of our division, were advanced to Guanacacho, to take whatever horses they might find there and observe the Mendocinos. Another party marched a considerable distance in our rear, to ascertain if the San-Juaninos retired to San Juan or followed our march. We marched but a few leagues that day, and were obliged to halt in a medano, or soft sandy ground, without either grass or water; the incapacity of our horses not admitting our farther advance to a more desirable situation.

Our advanced party met a strong detachment of the enemy in Guanacacho; they were in a potrera, and, not being able to escape out it, they were nearly all cut off: — a few escaped to Mendoza with the news.

By a priest whom we had taken, and who was a scout of the enemy, we knew that the Mendocinos were near at hand. An express was sent to Guanacacho, requiring the party to fall back rapidly with whatever horses they had taken, that they might unite themselves with us; and orders of a similar nature were sent to the rear-guard; but in the next moment we discovered the enemy, who had taken up a strong position between us and our advanced party, thereby cutting off all communications.

Thus we found ourselves in front of the enemy, our best mounted and bravest soldiers absent, and our men entirely destitute of that animation and desire for combat which they so strongly manifested on all former occasions; some soldiers mounted on worthless horses, more on mules, and others leading their horses after them on foot. Such were our dreary prospects on the morning of the 31st August, 1821.

Under these disadvantages the General did not despair, but made immediate

dispositions for the action. Our whole force was but 470 men, of which 150 men and officers were taken out, and given to the Colonel to charge the enemy's line. Our horses were of very *bad service*, but all the others were entirely unfit for any service. We advanced in line towards the enemy; whilst the remainder of the force, including women, prisoners, muleteers, and baggage, marched in column at a very slow pace.

The enemy occupied a strong position: his right and left flanks were composed of cavalry; the one protected by the Laguna de Guanacacho, the other by a neighbouring wood against which they were formed. The centre was occupied by 600 infantry, and a fosse extended along their front; which was easily formed in the sandy ground, and was almost impossible to pass with our weak horses. A guerilla from the enemy's left annoyed us much; however, it retired as we advanced, and at last took place in their line. Our horses were too weak to reconnoitre their line closely, or ascertain the strength of their position. Having came within pistol-shot of the enemy, they opened a fire on us. Benevente halted, formed his few men for the charge; and seeing the soldiers rather dispirited, he began to encourage them by reminding them of former difficulties out of which they had extricated themselves by their exertions; comparing the present with former dangers, and assuring them that their future welfare entirely depended on their conduct in this action: but seeing them still irresolute, he asked peremptorily, and with a stern countenance, if they would or would not fight. The soldiers, more from a fear of the imputation of cowardice than from any hope of success, answered unanimously, that they would follow and die with their colonel. The charge was sounded; and we advanced under the fire of the enemy as rapidly as our horses' strength would admit. We soon got on a soft sandy ground; when many of our horses sinking, and not being able to disengage themselves, lay there; others advanced, whilst some were obliged to remain behind: thus, by the nature of the ground and incapacity of our horses, our line was broken before we reached that of the enemy. On coming up to the enemy's line we could not charge them, nor cross the trench which protected their front. The Colonel and officers made every exertion to pass it; but the men being under the galling fire of the enemy but at a few yards' distance, and thinking it impracticable to pass the fosse, retired in disorder. We were pursued by the enemy's cavalry about 300 yards; when, meeting the General, the soldiers rallied, and drove the enemy back to their trenches. The air was filled with a subtile dust, with which we were almost suffocated,

and prevented us seeing or preventing any attempt which the enemy might make to surround us; hence we could not with propriety follow up the advantage we had gained.

Re-union was sounded, and we formed close to the enemy's position; where we waited, expecting to be attacked: the cloud of dust gradually disappeared, and we saw the Mendocinos in their ground seemingly in the same uncertainty as ourselves; however, they immediately sent out guerillas to renew the attack.

In this skirmish our horses were completely fagged. Forty or fifty soldiers were, however, fortunate enough to catch the horses of the enemy's soldiers who had been killed or unhorsed in the attack; and with these we dispersed their guerillas. The Colonel resolved, whilst the soldiers were in the heat of passion, to renew the charge, without giving them time for the consideration of their danger. We were about 100; and with that number Benevento charged the cavalry on their left flank, leaving all the rest of their line uncovered and unheeded. On our approach to their line, Albin Gutierres, who was their general, abandoned his horse and took refuge in the infantry's square. The commandant of the cavalry on that flank followed the same example, but on pretence that his horse had become unmanageable from the noise of the musquetry: the soldiers and inferior officers of the cavalry, abandoned by their chiefs, could not be much blamed for a change of position which brought them in rear of the infantry, who kept up such a heavy oblique fire on us as obliged us to retire once more; but in good order, and not pursued. We halted, and gave front to the enemy again; when, as the Colonel was exclaiming against the soldiers for their cowardice in having twice retreated without orders, we perceived a large cloud of dust, which indicated the march of the army of San Juan, and consummated the terror of our men. It was with difficulty we could hinder the soldiers from manifesting their fear to the enemy, who were close in front: each seemed eager to seek his own safety in flight; and the officers were obliged to form in their rear, with orders to strike dead the first man who would show any disorder or cowardice in sight of his enemy. The General plainly saw that these men would not charge, and that, if they did, it would be only uselessly sacrificing the lives of soldiers who might be useful on another occasion; he therefore gave orders for a retreat, which we commenced in good order. The soldiers whose horses were bad mounted behind others, or were taken prisoners. The enemy harassed our rear about three leagues; in which distance, out of

470 men, which we brought into the field, we lost all except about 20 officers and 80 soldiers: in action we could not have lost 30 men; the rest remained on the field, as their horses could not march.

We had gained eighteen leagues a-head of the enemy; and were about to surprise a squadron which guarded a great number of excellent horses in the potreras of Jocoli, when a catastrophe the most fatal, horrid, and criminal, put us in power of our oppressors.

The officers who had planned the revolution in San Luis supposed this to be the most favourable moment for executing their villanous undertaking. They reported to the soldiers, that soon as Carrera should surprise the enemy's squadron in Jocoli, and possess himself of the horses, he and his favourite officers would abandon them and the soldiers, by escaping to Buenos Ayres disguised; from whence they would embark for England, or the United States: and that to avert the vengeance which awaited them (the soldiers), it was necessary that they would take him and his officers, and give them up in Mendoza. The soldiers believed this ingenious fabrication of the mutineers, and entered unanimously into the design of seizing the General and officers; which they soon after effected.

It was very dark, about two o'clock in the morning, when we were surprised by the word "Halt" being given vehemently by many voices. We halted, supposing the enemy were on us. The conspirators (Arias, Moya, Fuenta, and Inchouti) rushed forward with a chosen escort to the head of the column, exclaiming "Seize the General and Colonel! Tie all the officers!" In the same moment some shots were fired at the Colonel and Ansorens (a guide), who, having good horses, escaped. The General made some efforts to defend himself,—his pistols missed fire, and he was in a moment overpowered and disarmed. He attempted to speak to the soldiers, but they would not hear him; and Arias ordered him and the rest of the officers not to speak to the soldiers on pain of death.

A letter was immediately sent back to the army of the enemy by the conspirators, and another to Godoy Cruz, governor of Mendoza, informing them of what they had done: they then continued their march towards Mendoza, till we arrived at Jocoli; when we halted, and had some refreshment, for the first time in the forty-eight hours antecedent.

Here Moya, one of the conspirators, seemed to have repented of his treachery: he acknowledged that nothing could efface the stain which his character had sustained; but he was over-awed, and persuaded by his com-

panions to adhere strictly to what they had commenced. However, by his intercession on our behalf, he obtained from the other three permission to write, in their names, an official letter to the governor of Mendoza; in which he requested that the lives of the officers whom they had taken would be held sacred, and that they should be allowed to retire to any of the provinces as destierrados, without suffering other punishment or imprisonment. This letter was answered by Godoy Cruz, the governor, in the affirmative.

We continued to march towards Mendoza; and when we were about two leagues from the town, several squadrons came out to receive us. Moya and Arias, who had assumed the command, ordered the soldiers to surrender their arms; which they did with reluctance.

We halted at a large country-house, which served as a barrack for the enemy's troops; there the soldiers were placed in a yard, with double guards over them; and Colonel Garcia, commandant of the barracks, sent to invite us to sup with him, in order to separate us from our soldiers; whom they still feared, though unarmed. After the Colonel had entertained us about two hours in his quarters, an adjutant came with a strong guard and conducted us to the barrack of San Domingo in Mendoza; where we were thrown into a large dark room, without any kind of defence against the cold, and obliged to lie on a damp brick floor. After a few days' residence there, we became inmates of the capilla (a room dedicated to persons under sentence of death, and stocked with images, &c. for religious purposes), in the gaol; when we were loaded with irons, &c. &c.

The officers who had conducted the revolution were received with much magnificence at the Governor's, and next morning were billeted in the most respectable houses of the friends of Godoy Cruz. A small pension was allowed them for private expenses.

In the meantime Carrera was lodged in the dungeon with Colonel Benevente (who was taken the morning after the revolution), and bound with irons and cords in the most brutal manner: he knew that he should in a few days suffer the same fate as his brothers, but bore his misfortune with the same serenity of mind for which he was always distinguished. He seemed to have no concern for himself; but spoke of the misfortunes of his wife, and the friends who were partakers of his hardships, with the greatest regret.

Albin Gutierres, who commanded the force of Mendoza, desisted from his cruelties whilst he supposed that Carrera had escaped; but when he received the letters of the conspirators relative to the revolution they had made, he

gave a loose to his infernal rage: at every halt his army made in their return to Mendoza, parties of prisoners were brought out and shot; for which cruelty he accounted to the provinces, by saying that all those soldiers had fallen on the field of battle fighting: he did us much more honour than we merited, in order to add to his own, and cover his wanton barbarity.

It would be doing an injustice to Albin Gutierres to neglect noticing his family, and the earlier occupations of his youth, &c. Like most of the people in power in America, he started up from the dregs of society. The most that is known of him is, that his first employment in active life was that of *picador; i. e.* a person whose duty it is to sit in front of a cart with a long cane or pole, pointed with a nail or spike, in order to prevent the bullocks from going to sleep, and make them quicken their pace occasionally. The carts in which he served as peon were employed in the commerce between Buenos Ayres and Mendoza; hence he imbibed his love for traffic. His first promotion was from *picador* to the rank of *arriero*, or muleteer, in the wine trade. He, with his savings, purchased a mule; and was allowed by his employers to take with him in every journey to Buenos Ayres one *cargo* or two barrels of wine, there to sell *for his account and risk;* the return of which he always employed in buying up something proper for the market of Mendoza. Having saved some money in this trade, he left it off, and became *pulpero*, or wine retailer; in which he was so fortunate as to amass a considerable quantity of money, and soon established himself as wine-merchant on a pretty large scale. As he was acquainted with every branch of the business, from gathering the grapes to driving the mules with the produce, and was uncommonly industrious, it is not surprising that in a few years he became one of the richest men in Mendoza. When San Martin was captain-general of the province of Aryo, he conferred on him the rank of colonel of militia for some services which are not ascertained.

Such was the general who had the credit of humbling us, after our having defeated the best and bravest generals of the country! He was an arrant coward, and as cruel as he was timid. But he was successful, and crowned with honours.

As to Carrera, he showed the greatest resignation to his fate, from the moment he was made prisoner; he was aware that his longest respite would not exceed four or five days, yet he conversed, ate, drank, and slept, as if nothing were to happen to him.

On the third day after our arrival in Mendoza, the ringing of bells and firing of the artillery announced the arrival of Gutierres, who immediately ordered that the sentence of death should be read to General Carrera and Colonels Benevente and Alvarez in the dungeon; and 11 o'clock next day was appointed for their execution. There was no formality of a trial, because they could not be tried by officers of inferior rank; and as all in town were inferior, there could be no court-martial: the sentence was therefore given in the name of the general and officers of the army of Mendoza. Godoy Cruz, the governor, denied having any part in the death of Carrera, and said he was obliged to comply with the will of the town.

Priests were sent to the dungeon to prepare the souls of the condemned for the other world. Carrera would allow no priest to speak with him, unless he were allowed the confessor of Madame Fuentacilla, his mother-in-law, who had been banished Chile and resided in the town. This was denied him. He then requested of the government permission to have a short interview with his mother-in-law, which the Governor was pleased to grant; but she found herself too weak for so affecting a scene, and declined coming to see him: however she procured him permission to write to his wife, and to deposit the letter in her hands.

The morning appointed for his execution (Sept. 5th) had come; and Carrera was busily employed writing his last letter to his wife, when an adjutant of the plaza came into the dungeon, and informed him that he was reprieved by the government, and that his only punishment would be banishment. Carrera did not appear elated at this news, but threw aside the letter he was writing, and commenced a new one on another sheet; but in about fifteen minutes afterwards the guards came to take them out to be shot. He requested of the officer but a few moments before he would accompany him; and laying aside the letter he had before him, he took the first he had been writing, and finished it by informing her, that in that moment he was about to accompany his executioners to the *banco*. He requested that whatever love she had for him would henceforward be directed to their children, and particularly to his son; whom he ordered to be sent to England or the United States, when he should have attained his seventh year, that he might in one of those countries receive his education.

The reason of the government for reprieving (or pretending to reprieve) the life of Carrera a few minutes previous to his execution was, that these sudden changes in his hopes might enervate him in sight of the populace, by whom

he was venerated. But the stratagem caused no alteration in Carrera; he showed neither terror nor anxiety at meeting death. He heartily despised all friars; however they thronged round him in his last moments, in order to re-convert him, that he might die a good Christian. Passing through the plaza, they employed all their logic in proving the existence of hell, and the torments of the damned. He reprimanded them for their insolence in offering and imposing their unasked advice; and continued steadfastly to view the troops, and make his observations on the strength of the town to the officer who guarded him.

Coming up to the seat on which he was to be shot, and hearing his name softly pronounced, he raised his eyes, and saw on the house-top some ladies who had come to see him and were about to retire: supposing that some of them knew him, he saluted them; they returned his bow, and retired much affected.

Carrera, still unchanged, stood by his seat on the same ground on which his brothers had bravely died. The padres renewed their suit for the safety of his soul, which he told them was his care, not theirs. Finding all their remonstrances useless, they requested he would forgive the town for the injuries which himself and family had received in it; and also to ask forgiveness for the injuries which he had caused it. He replied, that if his forgiveness could mitigate the wrongs, or make less glaring the injustices, which his family had sustained, he freely granted it; but that he, conscious of the rectitude and honour of his actions through life, could never think of soliciting the forgiveness of any of his most ungenerous enemies, of whom he considered the Mendocinos the most barbarous and illiberal.

He then took off a valuable poncho, which he delivered, with his watch, to be deposited by the father confessor of Madame Fuentacilla in her hands, to be delivered as the only legacy and remembrancer of the unfortunate father to his son. He then sat down on the seat; and when the executioner came to tie his arms, he stood up rather indignantly, and ordered him to retire; asking the officer who stood by to have him shot, when he had seen an honourable officer tied by a ruffian? He also refused to have his eyes covered; and sitting down calmly, he placed his right-hand on his breast, and requested the soldiers to despatch him. They fired, — he received two balls in the forehead,— two passed through his hand and entered his heart: he fell, and expired almost without a pang; and, after decapitating him and cutting off his right arm, his body was given to his mother-in-law, and interred in the

tomb of his brothers. His head was placed on the cabildo, and his arm close under the clock which belonged to that building.

Carrera was aged 35 years: his person was tall and graceful. He had dark hair, a high forehead, dark piercing eyes, and aquiline nose: his countenance was serene, and extorted respect even from his enemies. He was enterprising, honourable, and brave; unreserved with his friends; free from dissimulation or envy; compassionate and generous to a fault. His temper was mild and even; neither adversity nor good fortune having the power to make any evident suppression or elevation on his mind. His humanity was such as did not deserve the name of virtue; for, passing the bounds which prudence would have prescribed to it, it degenerated into an unaccountable failing or weakness. An enemy, however criminal he might be, was treated with generosity and compassion by Carrera; even assassins, who had murdered our soldiers, were frequently taken and brought before him: — he always protected their lives at the expense of justice itself, and not unfrequently made opportunities for them to escape himself, when he could not trust to another to do it; thus affording them the means of a farther exercise of their depredations.

From Pueyrredon down to the most insignificant of Carrera's enemies, there were few whose persons or property did not at some time fall into his hands; the former were always protected by him, the latter ever scrupulously respected.

This strange passion of Carrera, this mercy where it ought not to be exercised, can only be accounted for by supposing it to have for its origin and basis a species of ambition or self-love. Perhaps he believed that by treating his enemies with kindness, and loading them with obligations, they would become his friends; if that were his idea he was miserably deceived, and proved himself in a great measure ignorant of the character of his country.

That magnanimity which would have immortalized Carrera in any other country was but lost in America, where such a virtue is little acknowledged and less practised. His generosity was attributed by his enemies to fear; and in some of their public papers they had the impudence to call the man a coward who, with 140 men and the resources of his great mind, made every government and governor totter, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Had Carrera given every traitor the punishment which justice would dictate when they fell in his power, and shown his generosity and greatness of mind only to such as could comprehend and appreciate them, he would

never have died under their hands, nor his friends have suffered for the imaginary crimes which were attributed to them by his enemies.

If his ambition was to live without any imputation of blood, cruelty, or injustice on his character, he perfectly succeeded in his desire of deserving such a character; but 'tis more than probable that his enemies will deny that he possessed any good quality. During three years of his government in Chile, and in all his campaigns, he never had the life of a man taken away. The only person Carrera sentenced to death in Chile was a near relation of his own, whose crime in any other person would have been overlooked and forgiven. His life was begged by the Congress of Chile; and he was transported to the Brazils, and is now an officer of much merit in the Portuguese service.

Colonel Alvarez, who was executed with Carrera, died *a penitent Catholic*, and evinced resignation and character in his last moments: he was also beheaded, and the head sent to Bustos; that by exposing it he might destroy the hopes and repel the exertions of the Cordoveses, who so much venerated the old man Alvarez, and called him their father and protector.

Colonel Benevente, who expected to have been shot with General Carrera, was surprised, on the morning appointed for their execution, to find himself left behind in the dungeon. His brother, Don Juan Jose Benevente, merchant of Mendoza, with all the principal men of Mendoza, waited on the governor, Cruz, and begged the life of the Colonel; which was granted, in case Gutierres the general would ratify it. They immediately waited on Gutierres; but the old muleteer was inexorable, and resolved to have his vengeance on a man whom he would tremble to behold in other circumstances. The citizens retired disgusted with their new-created general, and without further hopes of obtaining the life of Benevente. However, another experiment was tried by the ladies of the town, and succeeded. The wife of Don Juan Jose Benevente, accompanied by all the matrons and young women of the town, in mourning, waited on Gutierres, at his house; and after flattering the old wretch, by persuading him that he was brave, generous, &c., he became flexible, and granted to them in writing the life they solicited. The fair deputation immediately proceeded to the dungeon, and informed Benevente that they had procured his life from Gutierres, and would alleviate the inconvenience of his prison by all means in their power. The Colonel was so struck with their humanity and generosity, that he was for some time

unable to reply. Thus receiving his life affected him more than he could have been affected by losing it on the *banco*.

We were all closely confined, and expected to be shot or privately assassinated every day; nevertheless we were not dispirited, but were determined to emulate each other in dying with resolution. We were all resolved to imitate the noble example of our chief, who viewed death without terror, and met him rather as a friend who was to release him from the insolence and ingratitude of an ungrateful country. — But no! Chile was not, nor ever can be, ungrateful to Carrera! Oppression may shackle her, and tyranny break the spirit of her inhabitants; yet her best sons, to the latest posterity, will venerate his name who first drew the sword in defence of her rights.

The government at Buenos Ayres sent a reprimand to Mendoza for their barbarous conduct towards us; saying, that no such power existed in the government of Mendoza as to authorise them in such an absolute manner to dispose of the lives of Americans; and that in the numerous revolutions of Buenos Ayres, there could not be produced, to degrade the Porteñian character, a single circumstance similar to the death of Carrera.

A large proportion of the inhabitants of Mendoza were in our favour, and openly declared we should not be put to death. The Indians also (who had been in search of us) came to the frontier near San Carlos, and sent a deputation into Mendoza to demand our liberty. The government had the head and arm of Carrera taken down immediately, and delivered to Madame Fuentacilla, who had them interred with his body, lest the Indians should see them. They succeeded in deceiving the Indian deputies, by assuring them that we were not in the town, and telling them that we were all in Chile.

Five of our officers had been taken by the San Juaninos on the field of battle at Punto del Medano. The governor of San Juan was enraged with his officers for sparing their lives, and knew not how he could with an appearance of justice put them to death. He, however, soon found a plan which answered his purpose: he sent for them to the barrack, where they were prisoners, to wait on him at his house; and coming there, he gave them billets to certain houses, where they might live at their liberty. The officers were grateful for the favour which they received, and retired; but two days after were taken up, brought to the plaza, and shot, for having formed a revolution to depose Governor Sanches, their liberator!

Similar fabrications were forged against us; but they meditated a revolution in Mendoza, and the fear of retribution prevented them from assassinating us.

Albin Gutierres received from the government of Chile, in consequence of having defeated us, the rank and pay of brigadier-general, and member of the legion of merit. *Doctor* Godoy Cruz, governor of Mendoza, a superstitious motilon (the lowest rank of friar), who never wore a sword, or saw an enemy, was also initiated into the legion, and honoured with the rank and pay of brigadier-general of the army of Chile. — How happy the country which can without resentment behold such honours conferred on the very persons who assisted in riveting her chains!

In the Chilian gazette there was published a large but false account of our last action, in which it appeared that the General and all the officers had been taken by the Mendocinos on the field of battle; and that the assassination of our soldiers, and many of our officers, was merely in self-defence, &c.

P. S.— I believe in the account of our last action with the Mendocinos in the Punto del Medano, I omitted to insert the number of their force,— they had 600 infantry, and between 5 and 600 cavalry.

The above paper was written at my request by Mr. Yates, a young Irish gentleman, who, with his friend Mr. Doolet, was engaged in the service of Carrera. After the death of their chief, they were sent as prisoners to San Martin in Peru; and there, after suffering great hardships on board the prison-ship in which they were transported from Chile, they were imprisoned in the castle of Callao. Their wretched situation moved the Honourable Captain F. Spencer to apply to San Martin for their release; who gave an order to that effect, on condition that they should not land again in Spanish South America. Accordingly, they both remained on board of one or other of the British ships of war on the station, until the Doris conveyed them to Brazil; where they are now both in the service of His Imperial Majesty Don Pedro.

The paper is printed without any kind of alteration.

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COCHRANE AND THE VICEROY PEZUELA.

(Referred to in p. 46. of the Introduction.)

I.

THIS correspondence began March 4th, 1819, on account of the prisoners of Chile detained in Peru, who were extremely ill used. In the first letter are the following expressions, used by Lord C. in his remonstrance to the Viceroy :—

" The undersigned, neither according to the orders of the supreme government of Chile, whose cause he prides himself on having adopted and supported, nor according to his own principles, can ever permit himself to make war otherwise than in that liberal manner prescribed by the enlightened manners of the age, and consecrated by the practice of civilised nations. But at the same time, he thinks it a duty to declare, that if the irregular conduct of the enemies of his government should force him to adopt a principle of retaliation, he will not hesitate to impose silence on the best sentiments of our nature, and to follow with firmness those measures which have taught even barbarians to respect the rights of humanity."

II.

The Viceroy's answer to the letter, from which the above extract is made, defends himself, from the charge of any unusual severity to the prisoners; and justifies severity, if such were employed, on the ground that the Spanish government treated as rebels and pirates all persons taken in arms against the King, and under banners not recognised by regular governments. He then proceeds : —

" The regulating principles of the proceedings of the Viceroy shall always be those of such gentleness and condescension, as shall not derogate from the dignity of his official situation; and he will not now comment on the occupation of a nobleman of Great Britain, a country in alliance with the Spanish people, employing himself in commanding the naval forces of a government hitherto unacknowledged by any nation on the globe."

III.

The Admiral's second letter, dated the 7th March, begins by proving the truth of the accusations against the Peruvian government of cruel treatment to the prisoners; and then proceeds to quote the different codes of maritime laws, from that of Rhodes downwards, to show that the subjects of a regular government independent de facto, *are not to be treated as pirates, notwithstanding that the mother country may not have recognised its legitimacy, and giving as instances the conduct of the various nations of Europe at the time of the emancipation of North America. He then refers to his own proceedings on the coast of Peru, leaving to time the manifestation of their result.*

" Meantime," he says, " His Excellency the Viceroy does well not to make any comment on the employment of a British nobleman in the great cause of Southern America. A British nobleman is a free man, capable of judging between right and wrong, and at liberty to adopt a country and a cause which aim at restoring the rights of oppressed human nature. Without failing in any duty, and without incurring any species of responsibility, Lord Cochrane was honourably competent to adopt the cause of Chile with the same freedom with which he refused the offered station of high admiral of Spain, which was made to him by the Spanish ambassador in London."

His Lordship then anew proposes the exchange of the prisoners of the brig Maypu for those he has on board the squadron.

IV.

The Viceroy's reply evades present compliance with the proposed exchange of prisoners, and artfully endeavours to convince Lord Cochrane, that the British government, so far from being favourable to the cause of South American emancipation, is inimical to it; and points his attention to the proclamations forbidding the enlistment of soldiers and sailors in foreign services, and to the conduct of the French government on the occasion. He says, that

though the neutrality of the British commanders in the Pacific, may be in obedience to their government, &c. &c. ; yet,

" To suppose that because a few provinces, legitimately belonging to a monarchy, find themselves independent *de facto*, that they have a right to nationize (*nacionalizer*) as if they had arrived at the rank of acknowledged governments, is a frenzy offensive to the moral sense of all society, and a conclusion as equivocal as unjust."

And then goes on to maintain that the Chilian and Buenos Ayrian ships of war are pirates, &c.

V.

Lord Cochrane writes his last letter on this subject, on the 17th March, 1819. In it he returns to the subject of the prisoners, and regrets the rejection of his terms by the Viceroy, no less than the mistaken views which cause the desolation of South America; insists on the real nature of the neutrality of his own country, and tells him that nothing but an act of parliament could legally prevent his countrymen from embracing any cause they pleased to support.

I had intended to have given literal translations of the greater part of these letters; but on more mature thought, it appears to me that the above abstract and extracts are sufficient in this place. If, hereafter, a more detailed history of this part of the Great South American struggle should be necessary, the correspondence will then serve as an illustration of the principles and ideas which were entertained by the contending parties, and will account for much that would otherwise appear either improbable or impossible.

APPENDIX III.

No. I.

The following proclamation I print, partly because it shows the views held out by the revolutionary chiefs to the natives, partly because there are few printed specimens of the ancient language of the Incas: —

The Supreme Director of the State of Chile to the Natives of Peru.

Brothers and Countrymen! The day of the freedom of America is arrived; and from the Mississippi to Cape Horn, comprehending nearly half the globe, the independence of the New World is proclaimed. Mexico is in arms; Caraccas triumphs; Santa Fé is organising and receiving large armies; Chile and Buenos Ayres have reached the goal of their career, — they enjoy the fruits of their liberty; and are considered by the nations of the universe, who emulously bring to them the products of their industry, their improvements, their weapons, and even their hands; giving worth to our fruits, and developing our talents. Employments, honours, and riches, are already distributed among ourselves, and are no longer the patrimony of our oppressors.

Meanwhile, though sweet liberty marches either in peace or in victory through the regions of the South, she is obliged to suspend her beneficent and majestic steps from the plains of Quito to Potosi, and to change her double influence for the affliction and the grief occasioned by the ravages of the Spaniards in Cochabamba, Puno, La Paz, Cuzco, Guamanga, Quito, and other provinces of our delicious country. *There* remain the tombs and the illustrious manes of Pumacagua, Angulo, Camargo, Cabezas, and so many other heroes, who now, as tutelary angels, solicit your happiness and independence before the throne of the Most High: — *there* offer up your

vows with ours against the impious policy with which the Spaniard, after murduring you, drags away your sons to fight against their brethren, who are struggling for the liberty of their country; and oblige us to destroy one another in order to rivet our chains.

But the hour destined by the God of justice and mercy for the happiness of Peru is arrived, and your brethren in Chile have hastened to make their utmost sacrifices in order to protect you by a respectable squadron; which, guarding your coasts, will present aid to you wherever it is called for by your necessities or by the sacred voice of liberty. A large army, composed of the brave soldiers of Chacabuco and Maypu, destined to secure the possession of your right, will also occupy your territory.

Peruvians! These are the pacts and conditions on which Chile, in presence of the Supreme Being, and calling on all nations to witness, and to revenge their violation, will front death and toil to save you. — You shall be free and independent: you shall frame your government and your laws by the sole and spontaneous will of your representatives. No influence, civil or military, direct or indirect, shall be exercised by these your brothers over your social institutions. You shall dismiss the armed force which is going to protect you the moment you wish it; and no pretext of your peril or your safety shall serve to keep it there without your will. No military division shall ever occupy a free town, unless called for by its magistrates; and those peninsular opinions and parties which may have existed before your liberation, shall neither be punished by us nor by our help; and, ready to destroy the armed force which resists your rights, we pray that you will forget all offences before the day of your glory, and reserve severer justice for obstinacy and future insult.

Sons of Manco Capac, Yupanqui, and Pachacutec! These venerable shades are the witnesses of the conditions which the people of Chile offer you by my voice, and of the alliance and fraternity we seek, in order to consolidate our independence, and to defend our rights in the day of peril.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

El Supremo Director del Estado de Chile a los Naturales del Peru.

Hermanos y compatriotas: ha llegado el dia de la libertad de América, y desde el Misisipí hasta el Cabo de Hornos en una zona que casi ocupa la mitad de la tierra se proclama la independencia del Nuevo mundo. Mégico

lucha; Caracas triunfa; Santa Fé organiza y recibe considerables egércitos, Chile y Buenos Ayres tocan el término de su carrera, gozan los frutos de su libertad, y considerados por las Naciones del Universo, se presentan éstas á porfia conduciendoles el producto de su industria, sus luces, sus armas, y aun sus brazos; dando nuevo valor à nuestros frutos, y desarrollando nuestros talentos. Ya los empleos, el honor y las riquezas se distribuyen entre nosotros, y no son el patrimonio de nuestros opresores.

Entretanto, y cuando la dulce libertad marcha, ó tranquila ó victoriosa por las regiones del Sud, se vé precisada á suspender sus beneficos y magestuosos pasos, desde las campañas de Quito á Potosí; y á trocar su doble influjo por la afliccion y el dolor que le ocasionan los destrozos de los españoles, en Cochabamba, Puno, la Paz, Cuzco, Guamanga, Quito, y demás Provincias de nuestro delicioso suelo. Alli divisa las tumbas y los ilustres manes de Pumacagua, Angulo, Camargo, Cabezas, y otros tantos héroes, que hoy son los genios protectores, que ante el trono del Altisimo reclaman vuestra felicidad é independencia: alli presentan vuestros votos y los nuestros contra la impía política con que el español, despues de degollaros, arrancan vuestros hijos para pelear con sus hermanos, que luchan por la libertad de estos paises, obligandonos á destruirnos mutuamente para remachar nuestras cadenas.

Pero llegó la época destinada por el Dios de la justicia y las misericordias á la felicidad del Perú, y vuestros hermanos de Chile han apurado sus últimos sacrificios para protegeros con una escuadra respetable, que asegurando estas costas, os presente recursos en todos los puntos donde escuche vuestras necesidades, y el sagrado clamor de la libertad. Inmediatamente ocupará tambien vuestro suelo un respetable egército de los valientes de Maypú y Chacabuco, destinado á consolidar el goce de vuestros derechos.

Peruanos, hé aqui los pactos y condiciones con que Chile, delante del Ser Supremo, y poniendo á todas las Naciones por testigos, y vengadores de su violacion, arrostra la muerte y las fatigas para salvaros. Sereis libres é independientes, constituireis vuestro gobierno y vuestras leyes por la única, y espontanea voluntad de vuestros representantes: ninguna influencia militar ó civil, directa ó indirecta, tendran estos hermanos en vuestras disposiciones sociales: despedireis la fuerza armada que pasa á protegeros, en el momento que dispongais, sin que vuestro peligro, ó vuestra seguridad sirva de pretesto, sino lo hallais por conveniente: jamás alguna division militar ocupará un pueblo libre, sino es llamada por sus legítimos Magistrados; ni por nosostros, ni con nuestro auxilio, se castigarán las opiniones ó partidos peninsulares, que

hayan precedido á vuestra libertad: y prontos á destrozar la fuerza armada que resista vuestros derechos, os rogaremos, que olvideis todo agravio anterior al dia de vuestra gloria, y reserveis la mas severa justicia para la obstinacion y los futuros insultos.

Hijos de Manca Capac, Yupanqui, y Pachacutec: estas sombras respetables serán los garantes de las condiciones que por mi voz os propone el Pueblo de Chile; asi como de la alianza y fraternidad, que os pedimos para consolidar nuestra mutua independencia, y defender nuestros derechos el dia del peligro.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

Hatun Chile Llactacc Apunmi, quellcamuyqui: Tucuy hatun Quichua, Aymara, Puquina Llacctacunapi causaccunaman, tucuy, tucuyman.

Llacctamasíy, Gauqueicuna: Chayamunñan punchau allpanchis cunapi samarispa guequenchis tucucunanpac. Tucuimi yachanchis Llactanchiscunaca ashuan atunmin uc Llactacunamanta Mamacochac ccallariscanmanta puchucanancama. Chayraycutacmi áshuan hatun ñocanchispa allpanchis. Hinatacmi ari llapallan samariyta munaspa Llacctanchiscunamanta aucanchis pucacuncacunata carconopac, Mexicollacctapi macanacuscancu; Caracasllacctapi, ña atipancuna; Santa Féllacctapi guateemanta ccallarinanpac, hagua llactacunamanta ppuyo hina huñunacuscancu. Cay Chile llacctayquichispi, Buenos Ayres piguan, guauquentin urpi munanaccoc hina, atipasccanmanta samarispa, sumac causaita, ña ñucchuscaycuña. Chayta yachaspa asguan carullacctacunamanta, mamacochata chimpaspa, iman munascaicuta apamuancu, Amauttancunatapas pusamuspán, mana imatapas pacaspa, ama astaguan auccanchiscuna cutimunampac yanapahuancu. Hina tacmi apancu, caí Llacctamanta tarpuscaicuta, uíhuascaycuta, aguascaicuta, hampi coracunatapas cusicuspatacmi llacctancuman apancu. ñan ñocaycoca manapimampas hullpuycuspa tiaícuchicuyco Apucunata, Cuscachaccunata, Quippocamayoccunata, tucuy cargoyoccunata Llacctamasinchiscunallamantatac. Chairaicun, ccollqueyco, corríico, ñocaico uccupi cutí ticraspa manaña lloccincho España llacctaman.

Hinam ari, cay misqui cusicausaita auccanchiscunata, allpac sonccompi chincarichispa, ña samarispaña, ña cusicuspaña, chay manchay llactayquichispi guequencuanmi pampata chaschuscan guauqueiquicuna, ñicta uyarispa, cusi

causaita saquespa, ña ñacarec ña maccanacoc, Quitollactamanta, Potosíilactacama cai munacc sonccoycu aisariguaycuña. Ymamantac rinqui mosocmanta ñaccarcc iiispa tapuycunacuicu. Piñacuspan cutichihuancu, guauquenchiscuñan manchay, manchayta, manan yanapacninta tariita atispa, guañuyllahuañan ampinacuncu Cochabampi, Punopi, Chuquiagopi, Coscopi, Chuquisacapi, Quitopi, Guamangapi llapan ucchuy llacctacunapihuampas: Chay yaguargueque ccochapin tuituscan Pumaccaguac tullun, Angulocpa, Camargocpa, Cabezaspa, José Gabriel Tupamarucpa; manan yuyaí canchu chaícchica manchaypuitu Apucunac sutimpac. Caicunac muchaínintacmi Pachaccamácpa ccayllampi cutichimuanchis aucanchiscunamanta quesppinanchispac. Cutirisun ari, muchaicusun ari imainan Apunchiscunata uyarin, hinatacc ari iiocanchistapachas nyarihuasun. Hina ari tucucunca putinanchis, hanchinanchis, mana astaguan naccahuasunchisñachu, manañia guauquenchista guaguanchista soncconchismanta quechuspa, ñoccanchis ucullapitac macanacunampac fiierro guascacunahuan guatahuasunchu; manchay mana sacsac pucacuncacunari mana astaguan camachihuasunñachu.

Chayamusunquichisñan Diosninchispa ccuyayninhuan camasoan mitta, paipa Justiciamraycu cusi causacunayquichispac Peruanocuna; ñocaicu guauqucyqui Chilenocunari, ñatacmin camaricuscaicuña, mana guañuytapas ñahuicupi cascactin manchaspa, cancunata yanapanaycuraycu, uccuicumanta horcorcocuspa Mamacochapi pahuac guasicunata hascata churaicu, sinchi atuchac hillapayocmi sapa guasi, atunmanta huchuicama. Cai guasicunan auccanchiscuna amocta chincarichispa, íman mnnascanchista maipi ccactinchispas, hagua llacctamanta aparcamonca. Paycunaraicutacmin cusi causaininchis mana tucucuncachu. ñatacmi Chacabucopi, Maypopi auccanchiscunata ccosñita hina chincaricheccuna, chay llactaiquicunaman cachamusaccuña, chay mana casocniyquicunata ullppuycuchinampac.

Perú llacctayoccuna: Suttillantan cai quellcaipi, cai Chile llaccta rimaicusunqui, Imainan Pachacamac Diosñinchispa ccaíllampipas rimascaicuman hina: Chairaicu paipa ccaillampitacmi, tucuy hatun hagua llaccta cunac Apuncunata churaicu, mana chaina cactin, nocaicuman llapallancu cutirinancupac. Atariy ari, mana ñaccariyta, ni guañuytapas manchaspa: quespispa, cusi causaita yachaspa, samarinaiquichispac: chaipachamari cancunallamantatac Apuyquichispac accllaricunqui, ccapac Diosninchispa camachiscan simita hunttaspa; cancuna uccupi pampachanapac quellcata churanqui Amauttaiquicúnahuan: cay guauqueiquicunari cancunahuan cascaspapas maccanacoccuna, manan macanaccocunapas, manan hayccaspas allintan ru-

ranqui, manan allintachu ruranqui ñisunquichu acllacunaiqui punchaupi, ni ñaupacpi, ni quepapi, tucuy ccochuylla canca. Ripuichisña nihuactiquihis cay hatun callpanhuan maccanascupa yanapacñiíquicunata, ima punchaucha munanqui hina ripusaccu; manatacmin nocaicuri callpayocmin canqui, ú manan callpayocmin canqui ñispa cutichiscayquicuchu: manataccmin huchuy callpa, ú hatun callpapas mayquen llactayquichispipas, ña cusi tiacoctiyquichis caypi quepariçusun ñiscaiquitacchu; cancunac Apuyquichis guacyactinri yuyaí chincaihuan chaipi casaccu: manatacmi ari, ñoccaicuchu, ni ñocayccoc ccallpaicuhuanchu cuscachanquichis ó manapas cusccachanquichu ñaccarichecniyquicuna pucacuncacunata, ú anansaya, ú urinsaya llaccta masiyquicunatapas: ñocaicurí yuyaiñinchis hinan camaricusaccu cunaiñiiquita suyaspa, picunapas mana hullpuycuspa camachis caiquichista ruractin huanachinaycupac, chayhuau mana ñaupa hinachu pipacpas, ni pimanpas ccumuycunquichischu: hinatac muchaicuiquichis ñaupac ñaccariscaiquichispi huchayoccunata pampachanaiquipac chay samariy punchaupi; quepaman huchallicuccunata manaña pampachaspa, asguan hatun huchata hina ucchuyllacactimpas, sinchita huanachinanchispac.

Mancoccapacpa, Tuppa-Yupanquecpa, Pachacutecpa Guaguancuna: chay manchay Apu-Yncacunac llantuntaracmi yuyaíniyman apamuni caí quellcayta hunttanaipac: cay Chilellacta runacunari simiyhuanmin rimaicusunqui, imainan llampusonco Taytacunapas ñucñu guaguancunata mascan; hinatac ari mañaichis cai cusi causai punchay ninchis chayamuspa, ama hayccacpas tutucunanpac; guequepunchau chayamoctinri, sinchi puyuan, hatun puyuhuan huñuicucuspa hina macanacunanchispac. Esccon Quilla Guarancca pusacc pachag chunca escconñioc Guata.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

No. II.

"Proclamation of Don Jose de San Martin, &c. &c. to the Limenians and other Inhabitants of Peru.

"COUNTRYMEN! I do not now address you solely by the right that every free man possesses of comforting the oppressed. The events which have crowded on each other for the last nine years have conferred the solemn title by which the independent states of Chile, and the United Provinces of South America, now order me to enter your territory in defence of the cause of your independence: it is identified with their own, and with the cause of human nature; and the means entrusted to me, in order to save you, are as efficacious as appropriate to this most sacred object.

"As soon as the will to be free declared itself in any part of South America, the agents of Spanish power exerted themselves to smother the lights by which the Americans might perceive their chains. The beginning of the revolution presented a monstrous assemblage of good with evil; and in consequence of its advance, the Viceroy of Peru endeavoured to persuade you that he had been able to annihilate, in the inhabitants of Lima and its dependencies, even the soul to feel the weight and the ignominy of the yoke. The earth was shocked to see American blood shed by Americans: it doubted if the slaves were as culpable as the tyrants; or if freedom had to complain most of those whose barbarous daring invaded it, or of the slaves who had the stupid folly not to defend it. War followed, destroying the innocent country; but in spite of all the combinations of despotism, the gospel of the rights of man was preached in the midst of the confusion. Hundreds of Americans have fallen in the field of honour, or by the hands of unnatural executioners; but opinion, fortified by noble passions, must always cause its triumphs to be felt. And thus, Time, the regenerator of political societies, has brought about the great moment which must decide the problem of Peruvian sentiment and the fate of South America.

"My proclamation is not that of a *conqueror, who would systematise a new slavery: the force of things has prepared this great day of your political emancipation;* and I can be no other than a casual instrument of justice and an agent of destiny. Sensible of the horrors which war inflicts on humanity, I have always endeavoured to accomplish my ends in the manner most reconcileable with the true interest of the Peruvians. After a complete victory

on the plains of Maypu, without attending to the feelings of a most righteous vengeance on a barbarous aggressor, or the right of reprisal for the evils caused in Chile, as a complete proof of my pacific wishes I wrote to your Viceroy on the 11th of April of this year — that I felt for the situation in which he was placed; wished him to consider the extent of the resources of two states intimately united, and the superior amount of their armies; and, in a word, the inequality of the struggle which threatened him. I made him responsible to the inhabitants of the land for the effects of the war; and in order to avert them, I entreated him *to call together the illustrious neighbourhood of Lima, to represent the sincere wishes of the governments of Chile and the United States; to hear their complaints and the exposition of their rights; and that the people should be freely permitted to adopt what form of government they wished; and that the spontaneous expression of the will of such an assembly should be the supreme law of my actions, &c.* This liberal proposal was answered by insults and threats; and thus the order of justice as well as common safety forced me to adopt the last rational resource, — the *use of a protecting force.* The blood, therefore, that may be shed will rest solely on the heads of the tyrants and their proud satellites. Nor were my intentions less apparent after the day of Chacabuco. The Spanish army was entirely routed: Chile became completely an independent state; and its inhabitants began to enjoy the security of their property and the fruits of liberty. This example of itself is the surest warrant for my conduct. Tyrants accustomed to disfigure facts, in order to kindle the torch of discord, have not been ashamed to say, that the moderation observed by the victorious army in Chile was for its own interest. In God's name, let it be so! For what is that but to say, that our interest is one with that of the people? Is not this a fresh guarantee, and a new reason for confidence? Doubtless this army will root out the tyrants of Lima; and the result of its victory will be, that *the capital of Peru will, for the first time, see her sons united, freely electing their government, and appearing on the face of the globe in the rank of nations.* The union of the three states will teach Spain to feel her weakness, and all other powers to esteem and respect us. The first steps of your political existence being secured, a central congress, composed of the representatives of the three states, will give to the organisation of each new stability; *and the constitution of each, as well as its perpetual alliance and federacy,* will be established in the midst of universal harmony, intelligence, and hope. The annals of the world do not record any revolution more holy in its end, more

necessary to man, and more august on account of the union of hearts and hands.

"Then let us proceed, confident in the destiny that Heaven has prepared for us. Under the empire of new laws and new powers, the very activity of the revolution will be converted into the wholesomest engagement to undertake every kind of toil that may maintain and multiply the products and benefits of society. On the first return of peace, those very ravages that spring from the great political convulsion of this continent will be like the lavas of of the volcano, which become a principle of fecundity in the very fields which they have overwhelmed. So your plains will be covered with all the riches of nature; your multiplied cities will adorn themselves with the splendour of science and the magnificence of art; and commerce will freely spread its movements over the immense space that nature has assigned to us.

"Americans! The victorious army of an insolent tyrant can only cast terror over the people subject to his triumphs; *but the legions I have the honour to command, forced to make war against the tyrants they combat, can only promise friendship and protection to brethren whom victory is about to free from tyranny. I engage my most sacred honour, that this promise shall be scrupulously fulfilled.* I have declared to you my duties and designs: your conduct will tell us if you will fulfil yours, and deserve the illustrious name of true sons of your country.

"European Spaniards! My proclamation is not that of your ruin: I come not into this land to destroy it. The object of the war is to preserve and facilitate the increase of the fortune of every peaceable and honest man. Your good fortune is bound up with the prosperity and independence of America; your misfortunes will be the effect of your own obstinacy: you know it. Spain now finds herself reduced to the last degree of imbecility and corruption: the resources of that kingdom are dilapidated; the state is charged with a monstrous debt; and, what is worse, terror and distrust form the basis of public morals, and have forced the nation to become melancholy, pusillanimous, stupid, and mute. *The freedom of Peru alone can offer to you a safe country.* To the intimate ties which unite you to the Americans you have only to add your wishes and your conduct, in order to form a great family of brothers. Respect for persons, for property, and for the holy Roman Catholic religion, are the sentiments of the United Provinces. I assure you of them in the most solemn manner.

"Inhabitants of Peru! The eyes of more than three parts of the world are

upon your present actions. Will you confirm the suspicions which have arisen against you during the last nine years? If the world sees that you know how to profit by this happy moment, your revolution will be as important to it as the united force of the whole continent. Value it, for the sake of the millions of generations which may come after you. When the rights of man, so long lost sight of in Peru, shall be re-established, I shall congratulate myself on the power of belonging to institutions which may consecrate them: I shall have satisfied the dearest wish of my heart, and have achieved the noblest work of my life.

" JOSE DE SAN MARTIN.

" Head-quarters, Santiago de Chile,
Nov. 13. 1818."

No. III.

" *The Supreme Director of Chile to the Inhabitants of Peru.*

" LIBERTY, the daughter of Heaven, is about to descend on your beautiful country; *and under her shadow you will take that high rank among the nations of the earth to which your opulence entitles you.* The Chilian squadron, which is in sight of your ports, is only the precursor of the expedition which is to secure your independence. The moment wished for by all generous hearts is approaching. The territory of Chile, and its adjacent isles, now breathe freely, delivered from the yoke of the oppressor. Our naval forces are able to contend with those of all Spain, as well as against her commerce; and in them you will find a firm support.

" It will be an inscrutable enigma to posterity, that the enlightened Lima, far from favouring the progress of Columbian independence, has endeavoured to paralyse the noble and generous efforts of her brethren, and to deprive them of the enjoyment of their imprescriptible rights. But it is time to wash out this stain, and to avenge the innumerable outrages that you have received from despotism as the reward of your blindness. Cast your eyes on the ruin that has been spread by the tyrants over your delicious land: you will see it engraven in indelible characters, in the depopulation, the want of industry, the monopolies, the hard oppression, and the contempt under which you have so long groaned. Run to your arms; and overturning, in your just indignation, the colossus of despotism which weighs you down, you may arrive at the height of prosperity.

"*Do not imagine that we mean to attempt to treat you as a conquered people.* Such an idea could never have entered the heads of any but the enemies of our common happiness. *We only aspire to see you free and happy. You will frame your own government, electing the form most congenial to your habits, your situation, and your inclinations: you will be your own legislators;* and consequently you will constitute a nation as free and as independent as ourselves.

"What are you waiting for, Peruvians? Hasten to break your chains. Come; and at the tombs of Tupac-Amaru, and Pumacahua, of those illustrious martyrs to liberty, swear to the contract which is to secure your independence and our eternal friendship.

"BERNARDO O'HIGGINS."

No. IV.

"COUNTRYMEN! — Yes, I will flatter myself that it cannot be long before I give you this delightful name. The echoes of the cry of liberty in South America have resounded even to the shores of cultivated Europe, more especially to those of Britain; and I could not resist the mighty temptation to defend a cause which, interesting human nature, involving the happiness of half the globe, and of millions of generations, has decided me to take in it a personal and effective part. The republic of Chile has consequently entrusted her maritime forces to my direction and command. The dominion of the Pacific is consigned to them, as well as the co-operation in the long-wished-for bursting of the chains which have oppressed you. Doubt not of the near approach of that great day on which, together with the dominion of tyranny, the degrading condition of Spanish colonies which now disgraces you will be at an end; and you will occupy among the nations that noble place to which you are called by your population, your riches, your geographical position, and the course of circumstances. But you must be our coadjutors in preparing for success, in removing obstacles, and opening to yourselves the path of glory; secure of the cordial assistance of the government of Chile, and of your true friend,

"COCHRANE."

The above proclamations were published before the sailing of the great expedition to Peru. They are referred to in the Introduction, and show the hopes held out to the Peruvians by the invading chiefs.

The violation of all the promises made in these proclamations by San Martin, produced that spirit of disgust against him which forced him to fly from Lima. It is curious, that within a very few days of his flight, the following address to Lord Cochrane was sent by the new government of Lima:—

"*The Sovereign Constituent Congress of Peru,*

"In consideration of the services rendered to Peruvian freedom by the Right Honourable the Lord Cochrane, — owing to whose genius, worth, and bravery, the Pacific is freed from the insults of enemies, and the standard of freedom is planted on the shores of the South, —

"RESOLVES,

"That the Supreme Junta shall, in the name of the nation, offer to Lord Cochrane, Admiral of the Chilian squadron, its most sincere acknowledgments of gratitude for his achievements in favour of the people of Peru, heretofore under the tyranny of military despotism, but now the arbiter of its own fate.

"The Supreme Junta, on being informed of this resolution, will do what is needful for carrying it into effect; causing it to be printed, published, and circulated.

"Given in the Chamber of Congress at Lima,
27th September, 1822.

(Signed) "XAVIER DE LIMA PIZARRO, President.
"JOSE SANCHES CARION, Secretary.
"FRANCISCO XAVIER MARCATEQUE, Secretary.

"We order the same to be presently executed.

(Signed) "JOSE DE LA MAR,
"FELIPE ANTONIO ALVARADO,
"EL CONDE DE VESTE FLORIDA.

"By order of his Excellency,

"FRANCISCO VALDIVIESO."

Lord Cochrane had the satisfaction of receiving the above just before he left Chile.

APPENDIX IV.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

Correspondence printed in the Government Gazette of Chile, Feb. 24th, 1821,

BETWEEN

THE BRITISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND ZENTENO, THE CHILIAN MINISTER OF MARINE,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE BLOCKADE OF THE PORTS OF PERU.

The British Commander's letter is dated Buenos Ayres, September 7th, 1820. *It begins by mentioning the news of blockade transmitted by Captain Searle. It goes on to say—*

"The British government knows very well that a blockade is not illegal on account of its mere extension; but the illegality depends, according to the law of nations, on the adequacy of the blockading force to maintain the ports and coasts it pretends to blockade in so constant a state of blockade, that no ship may enter or sail without eminent peril of being detained; that if the force be inadequate to maintain the blockade generally, that is to say, in all its parts, it becomes null and of no effect; and the blockading ships may not form it partially where they may chance to find themselves, as I have pointed out in the instructions given to Captain Searle, and of which a copy was sent to Your Excellency.

"In consequence of the neutrality which His Britannic Majesty wishes to observe between the contending parties in South America, His Majesty's subjects have been allowed to establish friendly correspondences with the people of Chile: nor can I resist the right which the government of Chile has to establish and maintain blockades, on the footing that other belligerents establish and maintain them consistently with the principles acknowledged by the law of nations. But it is clear, that if the state of Chile claims the exercise of this right, it must submit to exercise it within the limits, and subject to the restrictions, imposed by political rights.

"According to these principles, the alleged blockade of the coast in question must be considered and held absolutely illegal, in the opinion of the government of His Britannic Majesty; so that it cannot operate on the ships or property of His Majesty's subjects, without a violation of the law of nations. I consequently feel obliged to protest formally against the legality of the blockade, for the reasons above stated. I hope that Your Excellency will have the goodness to order your decree of blockade to be so modified and altered; and that such orders shall be given to the commander of your squadron as shall prevent any kind of coercion not permitted by the law of nations against the British ships and property, under pretence of keeping up the blockade.

"I am sure I need not repeat here to Your Excellency the assurance of my ardent wish to preserve, as heretofore, our amicable relations with the government of Chile and its local authorities, so necessary for the protection of the subjects of His Britannic Majesty who are engaged in lawful commerce, and to maintain that neutrality which His Majesty wishes should be observed by all those acting under his orders.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself,

"With the highest respect and consideration,

"Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "T. W. HARDY,

"Commodore and Commander-in-chief of the ships and vessels of

"His Britannic Majesty on the coast of South America."

To this Zenteno answers, on the 6th of December, 1820. *His letter begins by acknowledging the receipt of Sir Thomas's letter, and saying that of course neutral property would be respected according to the law of nations; and his opinions on that head quite agree with the English commander's wishes. Zenteno then says,—*

"But even if this agreeable coincidence had not been, as it is, sufficient to satisfy the pretensions of Your Excellency in all respects, the prosperity that has attended our arms has, in fact, set at rest all question and cause of doubt. Our petty force, perhaps diminished in apparent magnitude by distance, was not believed sufficient to maintain the blockade in all its extent; yet it has had the glory of setting at liberty, and of placing in the hands of the American independents, all the ports and coast of Peru, including Guayaquil, and also much of the interior of the country, excepting only the port of Callao; and

moreover, from the very centre of that port, from under the fire of its batteries, the Spanish ship of war Esmeralda, of 40 guns, has been cut out by our naval forces; and our strength thereby augmented, while that of the enemy is reduced to nothing.

The rest of the letter is filled with professions of friendship to the British nation and the British commander, and is signed by order of the Supreme Director.

"JOSE IGNACIO ZENTENO."

There was no farther question about the right to blockade.

APPENDIX V.

It is always a melancholy task to record ingratitude; but the consequences of that shown both by the Protector of Peru, and the Director of Chile, have been so fatal to their own power, that it may serve as a warning to the future governors of those new countries. Happily the good cause must survive and flourish 'spite of those hindrances caused by the base passions of individuals. The good and heroic who suffer will, as much as is in human nature, disregard their own personal disgusts; reflecting, that scarcely in any case has the founder of a great general good enjoyed the benefit of his own labours; but posterity profits by them, and that secondary immortality, fame on earth, will pursue their steps.

I venture, therefore, to print the following address to the government of Chile from the officers of the squadron; convinced that while it states their services and grievances, endured at the hands of individuals, the ill will not be attributed to the sacred cause in which it was suffered, but to the unfortunate circumstances that placed such a man as San Martin in a situation to curb the generous efforts of our countrymen in the cause of South America, and to over-rule the timid but well-meaning rulers of Chile. The opinions entertained by Peru and Chile are sufficiently proved in the address from the government of Lima to Lord Cochrane, and by the notice of the squadron in the Chilian state paper given in the Postscript to the Journal.

"*Memorial presented to the Chile Government, October*, 1822.

"We, the captains of the Chilian navy, beg leave to lay most respectfully before the government a brief statement of our services, privations, and sufferings; not with the view of enhancing our merits, but that justice may be done, and that the pay and stipulated emoluments to which we are entitled may no longer be withheld, and that our minds may be tranquillized as to

future fate; anxiety and doubt as to which, being of all things most distressing.

"First, then, it is known that since the capture of the Isabel, the dominion of the Pacific has been maintained by the Chilian navy; and that such have been the exertions of our commander and ourselves, that with Chileno crews, unaccustomed to the arts of navigation, and a few foreign seamen whom we alone could controul, not only the shores of this land have been effectually protected from injury or insult, but the maritime ports of the enemy have been closely blockaded in the face of a superior naval force. By means of the navy the important province, fortifications, and port of Valdivia, were added to the republic. By the same means the Spanish power in Peru was brought into contempt, and the way opened for the invasion of that country; which, so far as the navy was concerned, was crowned with success. The ships of war of the enemy have all fallen into our hands, or have been compelled by our means to surrender. Their merchant vessels have been seized from under their batteries; whilst the Chilian transports and trading vessels have been afforded such perfect security, that no one, even of the smallest, has been compelled to haul down its flag. Among these achievements, that of the Esmeralda has reflected lustre on the Chilian marine equal to any thing recorded in the naval chronicles of ancient states, greatly adding to its importance in the eyes of Europe; and by the vigilance of the naval blockade, the fortifications of Callao were compelled to surrender.

"The happy event of such surrender, so long hoped for, was deemed by all to complete our labours in Peru, and entitle us, if not to a remuneration from that state, as in the case of those officers who abandoned the Chilian service, yet at least to a share of the valuable property taken by our means; as awarded under similar circumstances by other states, who, by experience, are aware of the benefit of stimulating individuals by such rewards for great enterprises for the public good. But, alas! so far from either of these modes of remuneration being adopted, even the pay so often promised was withheld, and food itself was denied, so that we were reduced to a state of the greatest privation and suffering; so great indeed, that the crew of the Lautaro abandoned their vessel for want of food, and the seamen of the squadron, natives as well as foreigners, were in a state of open mutiny, threatening the safety of all the vessels of the state. We do not wish to claim merit for not relieving ourselves from this painful situation by an act that would have been of a doubtful nature as to its propriety; namely, by acquiescence in the intentions

of the general commanding in chief the expeditionary forces; who, having declared us officers of Peru, offered, through his aides-de-camp Colonel Paroissieu and Captain Spry, honours and estates to those who should in that capacity promote the further views he then entertained. Nor do we envy those who received estates and honours. But, having rejected these, we may fairly claim the approbation of government for providing the squadron of Chile with provisions and stores at Callao, out of monies in our hand justly due for the capture of the Esmeralda, when such supplies had been refused by the said general and commander-in-chief. We may justly claim similar approbation for having repaired the squadron at Guayaquil, and for equipping and provisioning it for the pursuit of the enemy's frigates Prueba and Vengauza, which we drove from the shores of Mexico in a state of destitution to the shores of Peru; and if they were not actually brought to Chile, it was because they were seized by our late general and commander-in-chief, and appropriated in the same manner as he had previously intended with respect to the Chilian squadron itself. We may add, that every endeavour, short of actual hostilities with the said general, was made on our part, to obtain the restitution of those valuable frigates to the government of Chile. In no other instance throughout the whole course of our proceedings has any dispute arisen but what has terminated favourably to the interests of Chile, and to the honour of her flag; and we may justly observe, that while private friendships have been preserved with the naval officers of foreign powers, no point has been conceded that we could justly maintain, consistently with the maritime laws of civilised nations; by which our conduct has been scrupulously guided, even in its exercise towards the subjects of our native land. And it is no less true, that such has been the caution with which we have acted, that no act of violence contrary to the law of nations, nor any improper exercise of power, can in any one instance be laid to our charge.

"We may add, that during our connection with the squadron, the Chilian flag has waved in triumph, and with universal respect, from the southern extremity of the nation to the Californian shore; while the population, and the value of all property in and contiguous to the naval port, have been increased at least three fold; and the commerce and the revenue it produces have augmented in a far greater proportion: which commerce, so productive to the state, might, without the protecting aid of its navy, be annihilated by a few of those miserable privateers which the terrors of its name alone deters from approaching.

"The period has now arrived at which it is essential for the wellbeing of the service in general, and indispensable to our private concerns, that our arrears, so long uncalled for, should be liquidated; and, far as it is from our desires to press our claims upon the government, yet we cannot abstain from so doing, in justice to the state we have the honour to serve, as well as to ourselves: because the want of regularity in the internal affairs of a naval service is productive of relaxation of discipline, seeing that just complaint cannot be repressed, nor the complainants chastised; and because discontent spreads like a contagious disease, and paralyses the system.

"If the Supreme Government would permit us to entreat their attention to the relative conduct of Great Britain and Spain in the management of their naval affairs, and the respective effects of such different management to the interests of those nations, we might notice the extraordinary fact, that the navy of Spain, though well equipped, provisioned, and stored, and though navigated under scientific officers, and with seamen equally conversant in nautical affairs with those of England; yet, from being placed under the superintendance of military and civil governors, and the total want of stimulus to individual exertion, did never, from the commencement of the Spanish wars with Britain, capture from the numerous fleets, squadrons, and detached vessels of that nation, which were intercepting their commerce and blockading their ports, one single ship of war of any description whatsoever. Spain allowed no reward for the capture of ships of war; vainly imagining that large bodies of men might, for successive periods of years, be made to undergo hardships and privations, and to encounter dangers and death, for no other reward than their provisions, and that pittance in the shape of pay which they could as readily obtain by following the safe and ordinary, and comparatively easy, avocations of life: while, on the other hand, it has been the policy of England to pay to her navy the entire pecuniary value of all its prizes, ships, fortifications, and captures of every description; and not only so, but even to grant, as a further stimulus to exertion, an additional bounty out of the public treasury.

"The consequence is, that England, though a small island, derives from the maritime strength a power and influence in the affairs of the world extending to every extremity of the globe, while Spain has not only lost most of her foreign acquisitions, but almost her own existence as an independent nation. It would seem, however, from the last account of the proceedings of the government of that country, that the importance of reviving a maritime

power, which their own negligence and impolitic parsimony has brought to decay, is now clearly perceived; and that they even propose to send out a respectable naval force to the Pacific. When it is considered that the squadron of Chile is promised only a moiety of the prize-money, the whole being granted to the English navy, and without any of that emolument in the shape of bounty-money which is allowed in England; and when it is also considered that Chile has been at no cost in our professional education, but has been totally exempt from expense in rearing and educating officers for her naval service, an expense to which England and all other naval powers are subject;—it is not too much to require that our stipulated pay and prize-money, which have been so long withheld, should immediately be paid. We reject, with indignation, the opinion attempted to be impressed on the minds of the officers and men by agents on shore—that every public mark of approbation, of reward, and even our pay, have been withheld in consequence of a notification from the Peruvian government, that unless the accusations against those who have remained faithful to Chile is attended to with a view to justify that government in the measures they pursued, the government of Chile will incur the displeasure of those who have made themselves powerful at their expense. But though we indignantly reject such an opinion, we cannot help observing, that the exertions made in Peru to rear a navy, the measures they have taken, and the success they have had, present a remarkable contrast to that disregard and neglect which are here so prevalent, and which tend so fatally to the downfal of a navy already reared. And if we, the captains, were longer to abstain from informing the government that such is the state of the ships of war that no operation of any difficulty or danger could be commanded, and that even their safety, if ordered to sea, would be endangered, we should not continue to deserve that confidence which it has ever been our ambition to merit. Nor, if we were to dwell solely on our own claims to the attention of the government, should we acquit ourselves of our duty.

" Permit us, therefore, to call to your notice, that since our return to Valparaiso with our naked crews, even clothes were withheld until the fourth month had expired; and during all this period no payment was made: whereby the destitute seamen and marines could not procure blankets or ponchos, or any covering to protect them from the cold of the winter, so much more severely felt on returning from the hot climates in which they had been for nearly three years employed.

"The two months' pay which was offered the other day to the seamen could not now effect any such purpose, the same, and more, being due to the pulperia-men; to whose benefit, and not that of the seamen, it must have immediately accrued. Judge, then, of the irritation produced by such privations, and the impossibility of relieving them by such inadequate payment; and whether it is possible to maintain order and discipline among men worse circumstanced than the convicts of Algiers! And we are persuaded, that we shall stand acquitted of any suspicion of giving a colouring to facts beyond reality, when we affirm, that confidence will be for ever gone, and the squadron entirely ruined, if measures of preservation are not immediately resorted to.

"With respect to the offer of one month's pay to ourselves, after our faithful and persevering services, after undergoing privations such as never were endured in the navy of any other state, and would not have been tolerated in our own, we are afraid to trust ourselves to make any observations; but it is quite impossible that it could have been accepted under any circumstances: nor, if it had been received, would it have placed us in a better situation with respect to our arrears than if, upon our arrival here four months ago, we had actually paid three months' salary to the government for the satisfaction of having served it, during a period of two years, with unremitting exertions and fidelity.

"In conclusion, we have most respectfully to express our ardent hope, that the Supreme Government will be pleased to take all that we have stated into their serious consideration; and more especially that they will be pleased to comply with their existing engagements to us with the same alacrity and fidelity with which we have acted towards them, the duties of each being reciprocal, and equally binding on both parties."

APPENDIX VI.

Account of the useful TREES *and* SHRUBS *of Chile, drawn up for the Court of Spain, in obedience to the Royal Edict of July 20th,* 1789; *and forwarded with Samples of the Woods, &c.* 10*th December,* 1792.

The Copy whence this was translated was lent me by a gentleman who was then Secretary to the Captain-General, and in whose office it had remained.

1. ABELLANO, *Quadria Avelana,* grows in the neighbourhood of Valdivia, Conception, and Maule. It grows to the height of six yards, and one in circumference; three or four yards from the ground it divides into branches of considerable size, and very leafy. Its timber lasts but a short time; it is used for bands to sieves, for oars and linings to vessels, and for turnery. The flower is like that of the hazel of Spain. The nut is six or seven lines in diameter, covered with a hard shell, containing a loose kernel of two lobes within one pellicle, as large as coffee, but rounder, oily, pleasant, and agreeable; which is eaten roasted, or ground into flour, or in sauces. The shell, powdered and boiled, is said to be good in dysentery, and the smoke is useful in faintings: chewing it is recommended to sweeten the breath.

2. ACEYTUNILLO, is found in the districts of Conception and Colchagua; it grows eight yards high, and one thick. The fruit, which is of the size of the olive, is not eaten; but the wood is used for turnery.

3. ALBARCOQUE, *Apricot,* is found all over the country, and is the same with that of Spain; but the fruit has less flavour. The wood is used for cabinet work; it is grey mottled with yellow, and rather brittle.

4. ALBERGILLA, *a kind of Cytisus,* is low, delicate, but very strong; it grows in Conception.

5. ALERCE, *the red Cedar of Molina.* This tree is only found in Valdivia. There is a great deal of it, but it grows at a considerable distance from the port, in the skirts of the Corderillas. It yields plank of from eight to ten yards in length, from twelve to eighteen inches in breadth, and from four to six in thickness; it is brittle, being liable to split on driving nails into it. It is used to plank ships, and for floors and roofs of houses, and lasts well: for which reason it is much used, large quantities of it being embarked in Chiloe for Conception, Valparaiso, Callao, and other places on the coast. There is reason to believe that it would make excellent water-casks; because the Abbe Molina says, in his work on the natural history of Chile, published in Bologna, 1782, that the water contained in casks made of it, and carried to Europe when he went thither, far from having grown bad (while that contained in other barrels had become rotten several times), acquired a delicate taste, and was only accidentally tinged by the colour of the wood; and staves for casks have been furnished to several vessels of war, at their particular request.

6. ALGAROBILLA, is small and delicate; the seed is used to make writing ink: it grows in greatest abundance near Rancagua and Guasco.

7. ALGAROBA, grows in the dry plains to the northward of the capital (St. Iago); it grows four yards high, and half a yard in thickness. It produces yellow pods, three inches long and two lines thick, which are eaten by sheep, who fatten well on them: the wood lasts very long, even under water; and is used for door-sills and thresholds, for axle-trees, and for mills.

8. ALGODON *Gosipium, Cotton,* thrives every where, if well treated. That of Guasco and Copiapo is the best, on account of its softness and the length of its staple.

9. ALMENDRO, *Almond,* is most abundant in the district of Santiago; it is exactly the same with that of Spain, and its fruit is used for the same purposes: the wood is too brittle for use.

10. ARAYAN, *Myrtle,* is found from Conception to Coquimbo. There are two principal kinds; the white, called also *chequen,* and the red. Each of of these grows to six yards high, and half a yard in girth. The wood is little used on account of its crookedness: in medicine it is used as in Spain. Its fruit is a black berry, the flesh of which is white and rather dry. The natives make a pleasant drink from it. If it were cultivated in walks or pleasure-grounds, it would be charming by its beauty and fragrance.

11. BELLOTO, *Achras Mammoso,* is only found in the neighbourhood of

Quillota and that of Rancagua; its height and size are such as to allow the fishermen to make canoes of a single piece of it, and it lasts long in the water: troughs for salting meat, washing, and other domestic uses, are also formed of it. It produces *bellotas*, which are used for feeding pigs.

12. Boldo, *Ruizia*, grows in the province of Conception, and every where to the southward of Santiago; its height is eight yards, and its girth above one. A bath, with an infusion of the leaves of this tree, is good in cutaneous disorders, swelling of the glands, and rheumatism and dropsy. These leaves, bruised and heated in wine, are useful in defluxions of the head; the juice of them, dropped into the ear, alleviates pain. Its fruit is of the size of a pea; it is sweet, but has little flesh: the stones serve for making rosaries. The wood is not generally used; but it is excellent for pipes for wine, which it ameliorates. M. Frezier, quoted by the Abbe Molina, probably did not observe the inner bark of this tree carefully, especially in the season when it seems perfectly to resemble the Oriental cinnamon.

13. Bollen, *Kaganeckia*, abounds in Maule, Rancagua, and Quillota; it grows to the height of four or five yards, and its girth is about a foot: the wood is close-grained, and serves for turnery.

14. Canelo, *South American Cinnamon*, grows in every province from Valdivia to Coquimbo, and in both Juan Fernandez and Mas Afuera; it commonly grows about fifteen yards high, and is two in circumference. It is a sacred tree among the Indians; who assemble under it in their religious and political ceremonies, and also whenever they invoke their deity Pillam. Besides the superstitious purposes to which they apply this tree, they use it in medicine. The bark, which is five lines thick, is juicy, but pungent; the pith is whitish, and is about an inch in circumference. The green wood is spongy; but when dry it is hard, and fit for any use which does not expose it to water: it affords straight planks for house-timber, and preserves goods from moths. When it is burnt it emits a smoke that is hurtful to the eyes, but which has an agreeable smell, not unlike cinnamon; the name of which it has borrowed. On being cut, an aromatic gum, like incense, distils from the tree; and, exposed to the sun, the same gum forms itself into globules between the wood and the bark. The decoction of the leaves or bark of this tree is good to bathe in, in paralytic and other weakening disorders; taken into the mouth it eases the tooth-ache, cures cancer, and heals ulcers in the throat. If the decoction is very strong, it is corrosive; and applied as a lotion, is good for the itch, scurvy, and ringworm. Mixed with salt and urine,

it kills lice in horses, and cures the scab. A fumigation of canelo dries up pustules and ulcers of the worst kind; and finally, it is useful in spasmodic affections, convulsions, and debility of nerves. It destroys all noxious insects, and dissipates contagion: an infusion of its branches freshens and restores the colour of indigo when turned green.

15. CARBON, grows in the districts of Guasco, Coquimbo, and Cuzcuz. It is short and thick, and used for small articles of turnery; but it is incomparable for firewood: two logs, that might not each be more than three-quarters of a yard long and one-third thick, suffice to keep a stew boiling, night and day, besides other kettles, even enough for eight or ten people.

16. CARDON, *Pourretia Coarctata.* Its leaves are great masses, from three to four palms long, sharp, and furnished with short, sharp, curved prickles. In spring it produces a single stem from fourteen to sixteen palms high, and three or four inches thick, the bark of which is strong; but the pith is spongy, and nearly equal to cork, though less solid. Its flower is beautiful yellow, and contains a portion of fragrant and pleasant honey, with a resinous dust on the stamens. This honey applied to the ear alleviates pain and restores hearing. The decoction of the pith of the trunk is as beneficial as that of the herb caliguala: it grows all over the state.

17. CASTAÑO, *Chesnut,* is the same with that of Spain; from whence it was brought. There are several orchards of them about the capital and near Quillota.

18. CHACAY, is found from Conception to Coquimbo; it grows six yards high, and half a yard thick: it is thorny. The wood is incorruptible; and with it ranchos are built. The infusion of its bark is good against imposthumes.

19. CHAÑAR, or CHILIMUCO, *a species of Achras* (*Lucumo Espinoso*), abounds in Coquimbo and the other northern districts. It grows eight yards high, and one thick; it is a crooked tree, and grows in very thick bushes. Its fruit is very sweet, in the shape of a date; but it gives the head-ache to those who eat of it. The wood is used for small turners' ware; and, for want of better, it is the common wood used for building houses at Copiapo.

20. CHARI, grows near Coquimbo; it is about four yards high: its wood is weak, and is only used in constructing ranchos.

21. CHILCO, is a small shrub; in Conception, where it grows, the decoction of it is reckoned cooling.

22. CHONTA, a wild cane found in the islands of Juan Fernandez, fourteen yards long and a quarter of a yard in diameter, at the foot; it is hollow

from the solid part walking-sticks are made, which are esteemed for their weight, and their shining black and yellow spots.

23. Citron, grows in the neighbourhood of Santiago, the same with that of Spain.

24. Cypres, grows in the districts of Valdivia, Conception, Maule, Colchagua, Rancagua, and Santiago; it is very like that of Spain, and in the Cordilleras attains to the height of fifty yards, and to the circumference of three and a half: the branches begin to shoot off at the height of five or six yards. Its wood is used for beams, doors, pillars, and ornamental planking; it is more solid and tough than that of Spain, but not so fragrant, and the smell is apt to afflict the workmen employed to cut it with head-ache: it bears exposure to the sun and rain well. Its colour is red: it is resinous and fit for marine uses, being light and durable. It is aromatic; balsamic and vulnerary gum exudes from it. The decoction of its leaves is good in hypochondria, dysentery, and tooth-ache. The bruised leaves, applied as a cold plaister, stop bleeding.

25. Ciruelo, *Plum-tree*, the same as that of Spain; whence many varieties, which flourish in all parts of Chile, have been imported.

26. Coihue o Coibo, grows in Valdivia, Conception, and the neighbourhood of Santiago; it is very large, since it grows thirty yards high, and from four to six in thickness. It is said there is one in Chillan fifteen yards in girth. It is used for knee-timber for ships; and canoes of two yards wide are formed from it. It also affords planks and cart-wheels. The fruit is of the size and texture of a white fig, but is neither eaten nor applied to any other purpose. A fungus upwards of a foot broad, and of a semicircular form, which is the best tinder, grows on this tree. The bark makes a red dye, and is used to close wounds.

27. Coleu, *Rattan*, is a solid cane; the smaller one, called Butre, grows six yards long, and an inch thick: it is chiefly used instead of lath in roofing houses. That of the Cordilleras grows to ten yards in length, and two inches in thickness: it is principally used for lances. It grows abundantly in Conception, and in the heights of Valparaiso: the first kind is also found in some parts of the province of Santiago.

28. Coliguay. There are two sorts which grow from Conception to Coquimbo. It grows about four yards high, and half a yard thick. The wood is weak, and is used only for ranchos, and for firewood; when burnt it is

as fragrant as incense: its leaves contain an acrid milky juice, which causes blindness if it accidentally falls into the eye.

29. Copado, is diminutive on the coasts; but grows to three yards high, and furnishes thorns * nine inches long, slender, and strong as those of the quiscos (*a variety of torch thistle*), of which there is also abundance in the country: its stem is of no use whatever.

30. Corcolen. Both the red and the yellow variety are found in Conception; the red grows four yards high, and a quarter of a yard thick; the yellow is equally thick, but only two yards high. Its branches are beautiful, full of leaves; it is abundant of flowers, yellow, and fragrant as those of the aroma: it is fit for shrubberies. The wood is good, but has no peculiar destination.

31. Crucero (*like the English caper*), grows about Rancagua; it is low and slender: the plant is used as a purgative.

32. Cuculi, is found in Rancagua; its size is sufficient to furnish good plank, but it is not abundant.

33. Culen, *Cytisus Arborea*, grows to the height of four yards, and the thickness of a foot; it is both cultivated and wild, and very abundant: the leaves and bark are medicinal. It is used like tea, and is good for complaints in the bowels, flatulency, and indigestion; the dry leaves in powder, or the green leaves mashed, used as a plaister, are good to close wounds. A wholesome and palatable drink is made from the buds. In spring resinous globules exude from the bark, which the shoemakers use instead of wax.

34. Datil, newly discovered in Conception; so that its uses are not yet known.

35. Durasno, *Peach*, grows everywhere, and produces all the varieties of fruit known in Spain.

36. Espinillo, is only found in Juan Fernandez; it grows five or six yards high, and half a yard thick: the wood is extremely light, but it is useless, even as firewood, burning very dully.

37. Espino, *Mimosa*. It grows in abundance all over the country: it grows commonly from three to five yards high, and is as thick as that one man can barely stretch his arms round it. The wood is solid, heavy, hard, and tough, yellow without, and red at heart; it makes the best charcoal, and is exceedingly profitable to the owners of the thickets, on account of the abundant

* These thorns are used as pins, and as knitting needles.

firewood it furnishes. It is excellent for large enclosures for cattle, for house-timber, and for espaliers for vines, because it does not rot under ground, although the yellow part becomes worm-eaten in the air. It is also used for turnery, for cart-wheels, and for lintels for doors. The flower is like the aroma, of exquisite perfume. The fruit is a black seed in a pod, very good for cattle; if bruised and spit upon, it emits so intolerable a smell, that it is necessary to burn paper in the room. It makes excellent writing-ink, being steeped in water and bruised, and mixed with copperas, and placed in the sun.*

38. FLORIPONDIO, *Datura Arborea*, is very common; it grows five yards high, and a quarter thick, with many branches. Its flower is beautiful, and smells very sweet; but the wood is of no use. It takes grafts of the cherimoya, which thrive well on it; but the fruit has not been tried, for fear of poison, because that of the floripondio itself destroys dogs.

39. GODOCOIPO, is rather a rare tree in the neighbourhood of Rancagua; it grows to the height of four yards, and the thickness of two feet: it is used by the cabinet-makers.

40. GUAUTRU, grows in Conception, three yards high, and nine inches thick; the bark is used in hysteric affections.

41. GUAYACAN, is found about Coquimbo, Cuzcuz, and Quillota; grows four yards high, and half a yard thick: its solid wood is as good as box, and is veined with blue and yellow. Combs, bowls, balustrades, and other domestic articles, are made of it. The infusion of it is astringent, and is good in many complaints.

42. GUAYO grows in Conception to the height of eight yards, and is one yard in girth; the wood is white, compact, tough, and fit for turnery. Sticks are made of it; which, being steeped in urine, acquire a red, shining colour. From the seed a purgative medicine is prepared; and the bark tans peltry, and dyes it red.

43. GUAYUN, a small rare shrub, growing on the banks of rivers. The leaf is large and whitish, and is furnished with a spine at the top. The seed is purple.

44. GUIGÑAN, or GOIGAN, is found in Conception, Rancagua, and some other districts; it grows four yards high, and three quarters in circumference. Its wood is very useful. Its seed is of the size, shape, smell, taste, and strength of pepper; the infusion of it is agreeable and stomachic, useful in the begin-

* The same shrub grows abundantly in the Mahratta mountains.

ning of dropsy, and in child-bearing. From this tree an aromatic gum exudes, which is used as a cataplasm for pains in the head, strains of the muscles or tendons, and in disorders proceeding from bad air, with even better effect than the oil of *Maria.* The bark yields a balsamic vulnerary essence, which is useful in gout, rheumatism, sciatica, pains in the limbs, and even coldness of feet.

45. GUILLI PATAGUA, is found in Conception, Maule, Colchagua, and Quillota; it resembles the service-tree of Spain, and grows eight yards high, and three quarters in girth: the bark serves for tanning, and is a powerful emetic. The leaf, dried before the fire, is as pleasant as the herb of Paraguay; taken green, it is used in certain disorders with effect. Its fruit is insipid, and is not used.

46. GUINDO, *Cherry,* is like that of Spain, except that the fruit is not so good. Dried cherries are prepared in Chile for the Lima market; and cherry-water is much esteemed as a refrigerent. There are wild cherry trees in Conception, whose bark is white; their growth is like that of the cypress, and the fruit is green, with little flesh, but pleasant to the taste.

47. FIG, is exactly that of Spain.

48. HUERIL, is found in various parts of the country. It is a shrub whose bark is thought the best refrigerent.

49. JUNCO, only found at Rancagua; it is short, delicate, and of no especial use.

50. LAUREL, grows in Valdivia, Conception, Maule, and Colchagua; it likes damp situations, and strikes its roots deep. Its usual height is twenty yards, and one and a half in girth. Planks of fourteen yards in length are obtained from it, and the wood is fit for carved work, being white, pliable, and incorruptible; in the centre are dark veins, whose ramifications are pretty: it is useless in water. It is very light when dry, but will bear little weight, and is brittle. The flower, leaf, and bark, are all fragrant, and are used in colds and headaches: from the inner bark sneezing powders of great efficacy are made. The warm decoction of the leaves is good in glandular diseases, and as a bath strengthens the nerves; the fumigation with it is useful in paralytic affections, convulsions, and spasmodic complaints: a drink composed of it is useful in some severe disorders.

51. LILEN, is found in the districts of Cuzcuz and Coquimbo, six yards high and one thick; it is used in building, and is excellent for wood-work in mines.

52, 53. LIMO y LIMON, *Lemon and Lime*, the same as in Spain.

54. LINGUE, LIGUE, or LINEA. It grows twenty-four feet high and two thick; its solid marbled wood is used for capstans, troughs, trays, and even masts of small ships, and other purposes where it is not exposed to worms. It rots in water. The bark is good for tanning; dyes shoe-heels and walking-sticks red. The flowers and fruit, or bean-like seeds, are sweet; they make the flesh of birds bitter: they are bad for cattle and horses; but the country people are fond of a drink made from an infusion of them.

55. LITRE o PILCO, *Laurus Caustica*, is very common; it grows to four yards high, but is very slender: the wood is close-grained and hard; it is used for knee-timber in ships, wheels, axletrees, and ploughshares, instead of iron. The shade of this tree is noxious, producing great swelling on those who rest under it; and to touch it causes blains and sores. Anodynes and refrigerents are the proper cure. From the small berry it produces, the Indians make a very agreeable chicha and sweetmeats. The root is very thick, with knots three quarters of a yard thick, and furnishing marble slabs fit for inlaying; also for centre-pieces for wheels.

56. LOLMATA, *Cactus, Great Torch-thistle*, also called *Quisco*, is common everywhere; it grows five or six yards high, and three quarters thick: it produces spines nine inches long, so smooth and hard, that they are used for knitting-needles. The wood is used for small planking, looms, and the huts of the poor; it is very durable when kept dry.

57. LUCUMO, *Achræs Lucumo* (of which two kinds are cultivated, the *Bifera* and the *Turbinata*). This appears to be a tree imported from Peru; it grows best in the neighbourhood of Coquimbo, but flourishes at Quillota: the fruit it bears is very sweet, of a pale orange colour within, with a large shiny seed very much resembling a chesnut.

58. LUM, of two kinds; the first, called LUM, or SIETE CAMISAS, is the *Steryoxylon rubrum*, and the WHITE LUM, or BARRACO, the *Steryoxylon revolutum*, of the *Flora Peruviana et Chilena*: these trees grow six or seven yards high and a foot thick. The wood is solid, and the bark is a purgative.

59. LUMA *, grows in Valdivia and Conception: it is used for tillers, bits, bolts for ships; for nuts and screws; for presses, axletrees, and shafts for carts; also, for hand-spikes. It is a durable wood; and the trees give spars of from eight to ten yards long, and from six to ten inches square: it is crooked, and

* I suspect the same with the last.

hard to cut down. There are two kinds, the red and the white: the latter is very inferior. (The King having heard of the excellence of this wood in 1789, ordered a quantity to be sent to Spain, which was done accordingly.)

60. MANZANA, *Apple*, the same as in Spain; the silk-worm will feed on it.

61. MANIU, or MANIHUE, grows in Conception; it arrives at the height of twenty yards, and the girth of three. The stem is clean and straight for five or six yards from the ground, where it throws out a beautiful head seven or eight yards in diameter; the leaf is narrow, soft, and pointed, and perfectly green on both sides; the wood is white, solid, and strong, and a little brittle: it is used in buildings under cover, for the rain rots it; in working it splits like pine, which it resembles in colour, for which reason the people of Valdivia call it by the same name.

62. MAQUI, is found in most provinces of the state; the sap which exudes from its buds cleanses wounds and sores; and the leaves, dried and powdered, heal and cicatrize them: the fresh leaves mashed clean and cure ulcers in the mouth. The wood is light and sonorous, fit for musical instruments and the ornamental parts of furniture; it is admirable for lathing for roofs, as it hardens with time, and is exceedingly durable. The bark steeped furnishes strong filaments, from which better twine is made than from those of spartum. Of its dark-purple berries, something like pimento, the country people make a preserve, which is much sought after even in the towns; mixed with the grape when pressed, it communicates to the wine an agreeable flavour; infused in water, it is a powerful refrigerent.

63. MARDOÑO. This tree is found in Conception and Rancagua; it grows to the height of three yards, and about a quarter thick; it produces no useful fruit: it rots easily, and therefore only serves for firewood.

64. MAYO, grows in Conception and the southern provinces; it grows seven yards high, and about three feet thick; the wood is light: in Juan Fernandez they make small vessels of it; its bark yields a yellow dye.

65. MAYTEN, is found all over Chile; it rises to the height of ten or twelve yards, and grows to two yards in thickness; its trunk is straight and clean, and its roots run deep: the timber is white without and red within; it is tough and easily worked, and very proper for all curious purposes. The tree is beautiful in public walks and shrubberies, being always green and leafy. Sheep and cattle are fond of the young branches; the decoction of its leaves is a febrifuge, and bruised they are anodyne.

66. MEMBRILLO, *Quince.* This and the fruitful Lucumo are much alike, being both delicate in their growth, and furnishing excellent tough twigs for basket-work; the fruits of both are alike in size and colour, but not in taste, one being bitter and the other sweet. (*The Quince is also much larger, and its shape like that of Europe: the shape of the Lucumo is like an orange.*)

67. MICHAY, grows in Valdivia, Conception, Juan Fernandez, and in the neighbourhood of Santiago. It grows as thick as a man's arm, and is about a yard high; it yields a lively and lasting yellow dye. A kind of caterpillar like the silk-worm forms its *coccoon* in this shrub. This wood serves for inlaying.

68. MITRIN, is low and scarce; it yields a black colour.

69. MOLLE, *Schinus Molle,* is found in Rancagua, Quillota, Cuzcuz, and Coquimbo. It grows little more than eight yards high, and two and a half in girth. The heart of this tree is very solid, and is used for pillars, for the axletrees of waggons, and gables and corner-posts of dwellings. Where a part is buried under ground it takes root and thereby secures the building better. This tree yields a gum which, applied to the head as a plaister, relieves spasms. If the bark be wounded a liquor flows from it; which becoming thick, is excellent for nervous complaints, and affords a good stomachic and cardiac medicine.

70. MORA, *Mulberry,* grows in Coquimbo and Santiago; is like that of Spain: the timber is durable, and good for carving, though it seldom produces fruit. The tree grows so readily, that dry fences of it in Coquimbo sprouted indifferently above or below wherever they were placed.

71. MUDEU, grows in Conception; it is a lofty tree, and grows three yards thick. We do not know its peculiar uses.

72. NARANGILLO, grows in Aconcagua; it is sixteen or twenty yards high, and of sufficient girth to cut logs of eighteen inches square and twenty-one feet in length. The timber is tough, and applicable to most uses. In medicine it is said that, infused in baths, it relieves rheumatic pains.

73. NARANJO, *Orange.* Both the bitter and sweet like those of Spain.

74. NATRI, is a tree of Conception, of whose qualities we are ignorant.

75. NIPA, grows every where from Conception to Coquimbo; it grows five yards high, and one half thick: the wood is useful for all common purposes, and baths and fumigations of all parts of the plant are wholesome.

76. NOGAL, *Walnut,* is the same as that of Spain.

77. NOTRU, is called *Cirnellillo* in Conception, where it is most common.

It grows four or five yards high, and one quarter thick: the wood is red and fit for ornamental work. The decoction of its bark and leaves is good in glandular affections, and for coldness of the feet. The steam of this plant is good for toothache, &c.

78. Olivillo, is found in Conception; its greatest height is twelve yards, and its girth is one. The leaf is like that of the olive, but it produces no fruit. The timber is excellent and durable, and is used in mines; and in Coquimbo and Guasco, where it grows stunted and crooked, it is considered as the best fuel for smelting metals.

79. Olivo, *Olive*, grows well all over the country; and is exactly that of Europe.

80. Palma, *the Date Palm*, is rare, and grows in Quillota; and its nearly tasteless fruit is without a stone. The most common and useful palm in Chile is that of the small cocoa-nut: the nut resembles the large one in all but size, and is used in confectionary. When the trunk is cut down, one end being placed in the fire a delicious honey exudes from the other. The wood is useless; the stem is tall, straight, and large. This tree does not reach its full growth in less than fifty years.

81. Palmilla, is found in Conception; is pretty, about four yards high, and useless.

82. Palo Negro, grows in Conception; it is a small shrub, the wood of which is used for handles to axes and other tools.

83. Palpal, is a low shrub of Conception, of whose uses we are ignorant.

84. Palqui, a shrub with a large root; the branches are about as thick as a finger. The bark, steeped in water, is good both externally and internally for cutaneous diseases. It is said to be unwholesome for cattle who browse on it. (There are two varieties near Quintero; one with purple flowers, which grow in clusters about the size and shape of yellow jasmine, smells very sweet during the night. The whole plant yields excellent ashes for the soap-boiler.)

85. Patagua, grows in the neighbourhood of Santiago, Rancagua, and Conception. It is good for silk-worms. It loves moist situations: it grows about ten yards high, and one and a half thick. The wood is useful for building, for farm purposes, and for furniture. It has five or six coats of bark, each of five lines thick: it is used for tanning. An infusion of it is said to be serviceable in internal abscesses.

86. PAYHUEN, abounds in the hilly country round Aconcagua; it grows three yards high, and one thick. It furnishes excellent browsing for cattle, and when burnt emits a very fragrant odour; but we know of no other use for it.

87. PELLIN, a tree of Conception and Valdivia, whose height and size allow of cutting spars of sixteen yards long, and twelve inches square. It spreads its roots widely on the surface, but does not strike them deep. The timber serves for gun-carriages, for keels and false keels to ships, also for bolts, on account of its lasting qualities, whether in air, earth, or water. The bark dyes wool of a deep mulberry colour.

88. PELA, or PILO, grows, in Valdivia and Conception, to six yards in height, and one in girth: the wood is white, solid, and durable; it is good for ploughshares, axle-trees, &c. The seed dyes black.

89. PERAL, *Pear*, the same as that of Spain. The decoction of its leaves is good for swelled feet; and the decoction of a species of polipody (*Quintral*) that grows on it is good for bruises.

90. PERALLILLO, a middling-sized tree of Juan Fernandez, where it is not very plentiful; it yields a middling kind of timber.

91. PEUMO, grows both in Chile and Peru. It grows very upright to the height of sixteen yards, and three yards in girth. The timber lasts well under water. The bark is used by tanners, it yields an orange-coloured dye, and is applied in cataplasms to broken limbs. The fruit, being steeped in tepid water, is supposed to relieve dropsy. The tree is proper for public walks and shrubberies, on account of its beauty, especially when amidst its tufted leaves its abundant red or white berries are seen.

92. PICHI, grows in Conception, and raises its twisted trunk of two feet thick to the height of five or six yards; the bark is ragged, and the head very bushy. The seed is about the size of a kidney-bean, and horses and oxen are extremely fond of it.

93. PINO, *Pine*. Large woods of it are found in the Andes of Valdivia and Conception, and it is cultivated in many places; it rises to the height of forty yards, and is four in girth. The wood is very desirable for masts of ships. Its nut is larger than that of Europe, and is the principal harvest of the mountain Indians. The cone is not so close as that of Europe, so there is no need to put it to the fire to open it; but when ripe the seed falls out: women eat it to increase their milk. The resin of this tree is believed

to be good for headaches. The timber of this pine is thought better than that of the Baltic, for masts and other naval purposes. In 1781 a great deal was cut for the squadron of Don Antonio Bacaro; and samples being sent to Spain, the King ordered that it might be used.

94. PINOSILLO, is low and scarce. We did not learn its use in Conception, where it grows.

95. PITRA, is found in all places to the south of Santiago; it grows eight or ten yards high, and one thick: the wood is weak when green; it rots under ground, and is little used except for fuel for baking pottery and bricks. The trunk is full of knots; below the outer bark there is a kind of soft fretwork covering, that serves excellently for tinder. Bruised in wine this bark is good for contusions, &c. The decoction of the leaves and bark is good in pains of the legs, and coldness of the extremities.

96. QUEBRACHO, is most plentiful about Maule, but grows freely in other places, especially between Valparaiso and Concon. It is little more than a shrub: the wood is of a fine grain and heavy, so it is used for carvers and turners' work.

97. QUELEN QUELEN, a small delicate shrub; it is found in the districts of Colchagua, Rancagua, and Valparaiso. The leaf is narrow and pointed; the flower blueish; the root like liquorice, but with little taste. The gum of this plant is used for various illnesses proceeding from cold; the wood is looked upon as antiepileptic. The whole plant is used for firewood.

98. QUEULI, is a sort of *Achras*. It is only found in Conception; it grows twenty-five yards high, and three in girth: it loves a damp situation. The timber is dark-red, easy to work, and takes a good polish. The fruit is like a long *bellota*, composed of a large firm husk, and a sweet yellow pulp, which is eaten both raw and boiled: it is esteemed unwholesome.

99. QUILLAY, is found in most parts of the country; it grows eight yards high, and two thick. The bark of this tree is used to clear colours in dyeing goods, and to cleanse woollen and silk clothes: beaten between two stones and mixed in water, it makes a lather like soap. It is considered wholesome in hysterical affections. The timber is apt to become worm-eaten in the sun, but it lasts well either under water or under ground; hence it is used in mines and for mill-wheels, and also for cart-wheels. (The authors of the Flora of Peru and Chile call this tree *Smegdadermos*, I think. The bark does not contain alkali, but a gum or mucilage, which froths as beer does;

besides some other astringent substance, of which no person yet seems to know the nature.)

100. Quisco, the same as Lolmata.

101. Radan, a large tree, which is found in the district of Colchagua; it does not grow high: it is little used.

102. Rasal, is like a wild walnut. We have not seen its flower or fruit. The wood is light and fit for musical instruments: the leaves and bark boiled, give a good black dye.

103. Rauli, grows in Conception and Maule, thirty or forty yards high, and five thick. It does not divide into branches till near the top. The timber is of a fine red colour; it is easily wrought, and is used by coopers and carvers. The bark gives a red dye.

104. Resino, a bush that grows in Juan Fernandez; it produces a gum applied to plaisters for various weaknesses, and is used to burn in churches instead of frankincense.

105. Retamo, *Broom*, grows three or four yards high, and a quarter in thickness; its wood is used for balls: it is like Spanish broom, but more leafy; oxen and sheep are very fond of it. The seed-vessel is globular, about the size of a hazle-nut.

106. Roble. When this tree is a sapling, it is called *Gualle*; at its mature age, it is *Roble*; and when old, *Pellin*. It grows in the province of Conception, and in the southern part of that of Santiago, but is most abundant on the banks of the Maule, where there are impenetrable forests of it. The common height of the roble is thirty yards: some of the trees grow to that of fifty yards, and from three to five in thickness. The timber is excellent both for civil and naval architecture, with the exception of masts and yards. Wheels and trucks for carts and gun-carriages are made of it. The bark is used for tanning; and, prepared with lime, it dyes leather red.

106. Romero, *Rosemary*, grows every where, of the same sort as that in Spain. There is an indigenous kind called Romarilla, which grows about three yards high, and half a yard thick; it is very bushy: it serves for hoops for casks, for brooms, and other similar purposes.

107. Sandalo, *Sandal-wood*, is found in Juan Fernandez; the wood is very odoriferous, and it is used for various purposes. We do not know if it has any peculiar properties: there is but little of it.

Sauce, *Willow*. There are three kinds; one like that of Europe; another called *Simaroon*; and a third *Mimbre*. They are very common, and

grow to nine yards in height, and one in girth. The decoction of the leaves, when cold, is cooling and good for the stomach; it is also good for bilious complaints, and expels worms. The wood is used for carved stirrups, also for charcoal for gunpowder.

108. Sauco, is common, and is much used by apothecaries.

109. Talinay, a large tree, so called from the name of the hill near Coquimbo where it is most abundant. It is only durable in water.

110. Tava, is a small shrub of Rancagua and Coquimbo. The wood is of no use, but the seed mixed with copperas makes good writing ink.

111. Tebo, *a sort of Myrtle*, which grows to a very large size in the province of Aconcagua. The timber is yellow, and very solid.

112. Temu, or Palo Colorado, *Red-wood*, is found in Conception, Quillota, and Juan Fernandez; it rises to the height of from eight to twelve yards, and grows to the thickness of one: it is like a myrtle, but more bushy. The gum which exudes from its buds mixed with salt, and injected into the eye, is said to cure cataract. It produces a largish fruit of a red and yellow colour, which is said to cause abortion.

113. Tinco, grows in Conception to the height of twelve yards, and the girth of one and a half; the timber is full of resin, and is fit for small vessels. A great deal of it is sent from Valdivia to Peru.

114. Tique, a middling-sized tree produced in Cuzcuz. It is not very serviceable.

115. Tralihuen, in the provinces of Conception and Santiago, is a small, dry, thorny, and durable shrub, with a twisted and rugged trunk; it is close-grained and fit for turnery. It serves for posts in vineyards where the vines are trained high. The wood gives out a red dye, little used.

116. Traruboqui, Coquilboqui, Codunoboqui. There are two kinds of this, one of which is a ground creeper; it is very curious and red, and is as thick as the finger; it is used for lath-work in roofs, and other places: it does not decay in water, and it makes ligatures as tough and lasting as hide. The other climbs to the tops of trees; its branches are as pliable as thread, and are used for lashing joists of houses and roofs: the seed is small, sweet, and highly flavoured.

117. Triaca, grows ten yards high, and eighteen inches thick; it grows very straight, and its timber is used for rafts.

118. Ulme, grows ten yards high and eighteen inches thick; the wood is used for boat-timbers, and when it is green it burns like oil.

119. YAQUE, it is a thorny plant of two yards high; it is used to make lie for washing linen.

"*This list was drawn up in obedience to the order of His Majesty, dated July* 1789, *and was forwarded* 10*th December*, 1792.

(Signed) "JUDE THADDEUS DE REYES."

"*Given to me at Santiago de Chile, by Don D. R., in* 1822.

"M. GRAHAM."

THE END.

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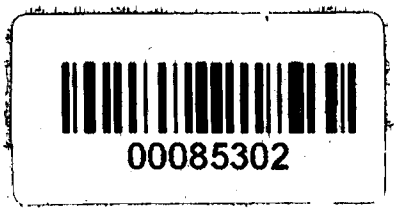
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